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CONTENTS

3 December 1991

POLITICAL

International Affairs

'New World Order' Seen Catalyst for Shifting Alliances	1
Alliance With Iran, China [THE NATION 27 Oct]	1
Relations With Chinese 'Cornerstone' [THE NATION 28 Oct]	2
United by Anti-Americanism [THE FRONTIER POST 28 Oct]	4
Relations With Saudis Crucial [THE FRONTIER POST 24 Oct]	5
Dominated by U.S. [THE FRONTIER POST 22 Oct]	6
UN Not Trustworthy [DAWN 26 Oct]	10
New Ambassador to U.S. Interviewed on Relations, Outlook [DAWN 1 Nov]	12

Regional Affairs

Commentary Observes Divided Views on Afghanistan [VIEWPOINT 7 Nov]	15
Annexation of Disputed Territory Claimed Imminent [DAWN 27 Oct]	16
Tension Over Kashmir Seen Leading to War [THE FRONTIER POST 30 Oct]	16
Calls Rise for Deportation of Bangladeshis [DAWN 1 Nov]	18
Trafficking of Bangladeshi Women Continues Unabated [DAWN 2 Nov]	19

Internal Affairs

Conflict Between Balochis, Pakhtuns Analyzed [THE NATION 24 Oct]	19
Analysts View Volatility of Sindh Situation	22
Change in Policy Needed [DAWN 2 Nov]	22
Could Result in Partition [THE NATION 27 Oct]	23
Not Threatening Like Bangladesh [THE NATION 6 Nov]	25
Sindh: Law, Order Situation Said Worsening [VIEWPOINT 7 Nov]	27
Nawaz Sharif's Twelve Months in Office Reviewed [VIEWPOINT 7 Nov]	28
Sharif Privatization Moves Termed 'Greedy' [THE NATION 5 Nov]	31
President Khan Blamed for Persecution of PPP [THE NATION 5 Nov]	32
Quetta: Federal Government Asked For Royalty Arrears [VIEWPOINT 7 Nov]	34
Government Urged To Combat Sectarianism [DAWN 29 Oct]	35
National Assembly Proceedings Reviewed [DAWN 30 Oct]	36
National Assembly Session, Procedures Described [VIEWPOINT 7 Nov]	37
Article Condemns Electoral Wrongdoing [VIEWPOINT 7 Nov]	38
Pre-Election Scene, Canvassing Portrayed [VIEWPOINT 7 Nov]	39
Jatoi Said Publicly Critical of Ruling Party [VIEWPOINT 7 Nov]	42
Beg's 'Friends' Cause Negative Reactions	42
Embarrassment to Country [THE NATION 25 Oct]	42
Group Has Militaristic Designs [THE FRONTIER POST 23 Oct]	43
Editorial Condemns Attack on Newspaper Office [DAWN 4 Nov]	45
Dismaying Facts of Recent History Reviewed [THE MUSLIM 16 Nov]	45

ECONOMIC

Private Foreign Investment Advocated [DAWN 2 Nov]	48
Restructuring of Labor Laws Seen Essential [DAWN 2 Nov]	51

MILITARY

Minister Rules Out Defense Cuts [DAWN 4 Nov]	53
----------------------------------------------------	----

SOCIAL

Progress in Human Development Seen Stilted [DAWN 1 Nov]	54
Shortage of Trained Nurses Regretted [DAWN 2 Nov]	57
Elite Said Exploiters of Common People [THE FRONTIER POST 30 Oct]	58
Twenty-Four Hour TV Station Begins Broadcasting [DAWN 2 Nov]	60

International Affairs

'New World Order' Seen Catalyst for Shifting Alliances

Alliance With Iran, China

92AS0245A Lahore THE NATION in English 27 Oct 91
p 4

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Emerging Regional Triangle"]

[Text] Two visits, concurrently taking place, are pointers to the new, regional realignments influencing Pakistan's foreign policy. China's President Yang Shang Kun is visiting Pakistan and he will then journey on to Iran. Chief of the Army Staff General Asif Nawaz, 9 weeks after taking office, is on his first foreign visit, touring China and then Iran. These visits underline a growing triangular linkage between Pakistan, Iran and China, a linkage that is sustained by rapport in the fields of foreign policy, economy and defence.

In the context of these visits, three aspects of this emerging triangle are noteworthy: timing, convergent foreign policy perspectives and similar source of external pressure, namely, the United States.

Regarding timing, all three countries feel the need to be closer to each other given the changes taking place in the region in which they are located. Bereft of American military, political and economic props, Pakistani officialdom feels a sense of insecurity at the growing intimacy between Washington and Delhi, which now extends to the military sphere. And with the American decision to offload Afghanistan from its regional agenda, Pakistan sees itself treading an arduous path in foreign policy on its own.

After the collapse of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, China is feeling the heat both ideologically and politically, from the Americans who have made no secret of their desire to see an "action replay" of the Soviet collapse in China as well. China has moved swiftly to reestablish closer ties with the remaining bastions of Marxism in Asia, namely, North Korea and Vietnam, and it sees a nexus with Iran and Pakistan as reinforcing its position in a strategic region. With the end of the Gulf war, Iran has seen no change in the American attitude, with Washington continuing to see Islamic Iran as a greater threat to U.S. interests than, say, the badly-battered Baathist regime in Baghdad.

The second factor underlying this emerging regional triangle is a convergent foreign policy outlook. All three countries have a shared experience of pursuing similar policies on Afghanistan; they are, in varying degrees, suspicious of American designs and all three have an activist foreign policy profile in the region. Significantly, all three see their relationship with each other as having a "strategic" dimension. Interestingly, more than their

respective foreign policy-making bureaucracies, the military in Iran and China share Pakistan's perceptions of the role of India in the region. During a July visit to China, a senior General of the People's Liberation Army in Beijing gave a candid exposition of how that institution perceives India as a possible launching-pad for American pressure on China via Tibet, an issue that the West has recently rediscovered with much zeal. And during a recent visit to Tehran, in a rare, exclusive interview, the Commander-in-Chief of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards, Mohsen Rezai, termed ties with Pakistan as a "strategic relationship," lauding the role of what he termed as the "Islamic Army" of Pakistan. His perceptions of regional developments matched those of Pakistan and China.

The American factor has emerged as a common uniting bond among Pakistan, Iran and China. All three, in recent months, have separately given an exposition of their foreign policy outlooks that is in sharp contrast to the American conception. Iran and China are two countries that have consistently supported Pakistan's quest for nuclear independence and during a recent newspaper interview, Iranian Vice-President, Sayed Ataullah Mohajerani, who served at the Iranian Embassy in Islamabad during 1984-85 as Cultural Counsellor, supported the Muslim countries right to acquire nuclear technology and he even referred to collusion between Israel and India against Pakistan's nuclear programme.

Last week's convening of an International Conference to support the Intifada in Palestine by the Iranians in Tehran was a reaffirmation of their long-standing opposition to any settlement in the Middle East that is imposed by the United States and Israel. Earlier, in September, the Chinese had a big conference in Beijing where they gave their own conception of a New International Political Order, whose basis, in China's view, should be equality among nations and non-interference in their internal affairs. And, during his September visit to Iran, in his speech before the Iranian Parliament in Tehran, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan provided an exposition of an Islamic world-view based on resisting hegemony in all its forms, a formulation that certainly does not accord with American objectives in the region.

The United States has also been putting pressure on all these three countries, particularly attempting to curtail the military connection among them. As early as April 1991, the House of Representatives of the American Congress had passed legislation certifying penalties for China should it provide military equipment in specified categories to five Muslim countries, namely, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Libya and Syria. While four of these countries are already on the State Department's list of states allegedly "supporting terrorism," a recent American Envoy told her Pakistani hosts that the United States was considering placing Pakistan also on the same list of "terrorist-supporting states" given what is now viewed in Washington as Pakistani "sponsorship of terrorism" in Occupied Kashmir.

As these relations among the triangle develop, Pakistan needs to sound a caveat on three counts as we should be in a position to look ahead and anticipate events. First, both Iran and China will separately expand and improve their relations with India, particularly in the economic sphere. A meeting of the Indo-Iranian Joint Ministerial Commission is in the offing, and Chinese Premier Li Peng is scheduled to visit India either in December 1991 or January 1992. This growth in India's relations with two close friends of Pakistan should neither be misunderstood nor lead to insecurity, as this development will not be at the expense of intimacy with Pakistan.

Second, unlike Iran, China is now reluctant to support the Pakistani position on Kashmir for two reasons. The principle of human rights violations and the right of self-determination which is sought to be applied in Kashmir is similar to what is being promoted for Tibet by the West, an uncomfortable analogy for China. Additionally, the Chinese are sensitive about their Muslim majority province of Xinjiang, since what is happening in central Asia and Kashmir could have reverberations in that sensitive province of China.

Finally, Pakistan's complicated domestic scene can create problems, although these are still more. The repeat kidnapping of Chinese engineers in Sindh and the attempt to involve Iran in internal strife, first by killing its diplomat and later by seeking to involve another diplomat in an alleged murder conspiracy, are needless points of friction that the Pakistan government would do well to avoid. Relations with China and Iran are just too important for Pakistan to suffer on account of our inability and weakness to settle internal squabbles, resulting in their nationals being made a scapegoat.

Relations With Chinese 'Cornerstone'

92AS0245B Lahore *THE NATION* in English
28 Oct 91 p 9

[Text] Islamabad, 27 October: Chinese President Yang Shangkun, accompanied by a 45-member entourage is now on a state visit to Pakistan.

The Chinese President's visit is expected to open new vistas of bilateral cooperation and enhanced mutual understanding and friendship between the two friendly countries.

Pakistan-China relations, which span over four decades, have flowered into an enviable paradigm of mutual confidence and trust. Sino-Pakistan friendship has stood the test of time and has grown despite ups and downs. China has been generous in giving economic and military assistance to Pakistan and its political and moral support has remained a source of strength for us. Bilateral cooperation is extensive in the fields of education, culture, trade, industry, science and technology.

China has offered a 300 mw nuclear power plant to Pakistan to help cope with the energy shortfall. The two countries are also cooperating in the field of space

exploration and Pakistan's first satellite Badr-I was launched with the Chinese assistance in July 1990.

China is providing technical and financial assistance to Pakistan in developing the Saindak gold-copper project in Balochistan. This project will open new avenues for mineral exploration and development in Pakistan and also generate vast employment opportunities.

This year Pakistan and China celebrated the 40th anniversary of establishment of their diplomatic relations, in a manner befitting the friendship. The two countries recently held the 7th session of Pakistan-China joint economic cooperation committee, giving impetus of economic and technical cooperation.

Pakistan recognised the People's Republic of China in January 1950, being among the first few countries to do so and to establish diplomatic relations in May 1951. The relationship between the two countries has grown in strength despite the vicissitudes of time and this is due largely to fact that China has given firm and tangible support to Pakistan's efforts to defend its state sovereignty and independence against outside threat and pressures.

Both the countries have scrupulously abided by the five principles of peaceful co-existence, particularly the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Pakistan and China have an identity of views on a number of important regional and international issues. On Kashmir, China has called for a peaceful settlement of the dispute through bilateral negotiations between India and Pakistan. China considered the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a direct threat to its own security. It made normalisation of relations with the Soviet Union conditional upon the removal of the three obstacles, one of which was the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

The close political relationship between the two countries is well-reflected in the high-level visits. Former Prime Minister's official visit to China was from 13 February 1989. The two sides agreed to strengthen bilateral relations in the fields of defence, trade and joint ventures. Agreement on the reciprocal encouragement and protection of investment and extension of the trade protocol were concluded during the visit. The Chinese reaffirmed their support to Pakistan's efforts to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan visited China from 20-23 September 1990, which opened new avenues of bilateral cooperation between the two countries. He was the chief guest at the opening ceremony of the Beijing ASIAD [Asian Games]. The president met all the top Chinese leaders including President Yang Shangkun, General Secretary Jiang Zemin, Premier Li Peng, Chairman CPC and NPC [National People's Congress] and held substantive discussions with them.

During the visit, three agreements including one on Saindak gold-copper project were signed with China.

Two other agreements concluded were a biennial cultural protocol and exchange of letters on additional Chinese assistance worth 3 million yuan for the Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

On bilateral issues, Pakistan's interest in intensifying cooperation in the field of mineral exploration and installation of thermal power stations based on coal was reiterated to the Chinese. (The President made a stop over in Beijing on his way back from Japan in November 1990).

Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif paid a four-day official visit to China from 26 February to 1 March 1991 as part of his Gulf peace mission. The prime minister met the top Chinese leadership including President Yang Shangkun, General Secretary Jiang Zemin and Premier Li Peng. Two sides discussed the Gulf situation, other regional and international issues and bilateral relations. Close proximity of views was found on all important issues. The Chinese General Secretary, President and Premier, accepted our invitations to visit Pakistan.

Speaker National Assembly Gohar Ayub Khan led a 12-member parliamentary delegation to China from 19-27 May 1991. He participated in the 40th anniversary celebrations of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Pakistan and China in Beijing on 21 May 1991. The Speaker met President Yang Shangkun and held bilateral talks with Chairman Wan Li and other NPC leaders during the visit.

Chairman Senate accompanied by Secretary General, Foreign Affairs visited China from 1-15 August 1991. The visit was primarily a continuation of a similar visit earlier to the USA to explain prime minister's initiative on nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia.

The delegation met President Yang Shangkun, Premier Li Peng, Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and Vice Chairman CPC, the visit helped in promoting mutual understanding and strengthening bilateral relations. An identity of views was found on major issues of mutual concern.

The Chinese leaders have consistently manifested the importance they attach to high-level contacts with Pakistan. Former Premier Zhao Ziyang began his foreign visits with Pakistan in June 1981 and again visited Pakistan in June 1987.

Similarly, Mr. Li Xiannian, after being elected president of the People's Republic, made his first foreign visit to Pakistan in March 1984. The Chinese Premier Li Peng visited Pakistan in November 1989 as part of a tour which took him to Bangladesh and Nepal also.

The two countries reviewed bilateral relations. An identity of views existed on several regional and international issues. China announced an interest-free loan of Yuan 50 million and a grant of Yuan 3.5 million in the form of commodity assistance for the Afghan refugees. The two

countries signed an agreement on the avoidance of double taxation. China announced to give Pakistan a 300 mw nuclear powered reactor to help meet our energy shortfall.

Chinese defence minister visited Pakistan from 19-27 February 1990, chairman of the standing committee of National People's Congress visited Pakistan in May 1990. Mr. Wang Renzhong, 1st vice chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference visited Pakistan from 29 November to 7 December 1990 at the invitation of chairman Senate. Gen. Xu Xin, deputy chief of the General Staff of People's Liberation Army visited Pakistan from 17 to 24 March 1991. He was awarded "Nishan-i-Imriaz (military)" by the president.

Chinese minister for Civil Affairs visited Pakistan in April-May '91 and vice minister for Machinery and Electronic Industry in 2 May '91. Chinese minister for Light Industry visited Pakistan from 30 August-3 September 1991. Vice minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade visited Pakistan from 5-12 September 1991 leading the Chinese delegation to the 7th meeting of the joint economic committee between the two countries. Pakistan side was led by the minister for Finance and Economic Affairs.

A high-level delegation of the Communist Party of China headed by Mr. Song Ping, member of the standing committee of the Political Bureau of Chinese Communist Party Central Committee visited Pakistan from 20-27 September at the invitation of Pakistan Muslim League.

Earlier, Pakistan Muslim League's delegation had paid a similar visit to China. Such exchanges have institutionalised party-to-party contacts between the two countries. The Chinese PLA [People's Liberation Army] Air Force chief visited Pakistan from 17th October.

The Chief of Army Staff Gen. Asif Nawaz Janjua is currently paying an official visit to China. Such visits reflect the closeness of China and Pakistan.

Agreements signed between Pakistan and China include boundary agreement for overland trade between Xinjiang and Gilgit, 1967, first barter trade agreement, 1966, agreement on scientific and technical cooperation, 1976, agreement on the establishment of a joint commission on economic trade, scientific and technical cooperation, 1982, agreement on the reciprocal encouragement and protection of investments, 1984, visa abolition agreement for holders of diplomatic and service official passports, 1987, agreement for cooperation in the peaceful users of nuclear energy 1986, agreement for the promotion of tourism through silk route, 1988, agreement on the avoidance of double taxation, 1989, agreement on the reciprocal encouragement and protection of investment, 1989, and agreement on Saindak gold-copper project signed in September 1990.

Pakistan and China formalised trade between them through the conclusion of a general trade agreement in

1963. The trade between the two countries reached U.S.dollars 500 million mark in 1980-81, but after that it kept on sliding till 1986. However, between the period 1987-89 bilateral trade registered remarkable recovery. In 1987, 1988, and 1989, the growth in trade was respectively 52%, 46%, and 400%. Pakistan faces a persistent trade deficit with China primarily owing to the similarities of export and import regimes of the two countries.

In 1990-91, our exports to China were U.S. dollars 60.8 million, while our import from China were U.S. dollars 386.2 million leaving United States with a deficit of U.S.

dollars 325.4 million. Our exports to China plummeted in 1990 because of our reduced export of cotton.

Pakistan's main exports to China have been raw cotton, cotton yarn, textiles, leather, pig iron and fertiliser. Imports from China have been machinery, iron, steel, coal, coke, chemicals, tea, paper etc. During the 7th meeting of the joint economic committee held in Islamabad in September 1991, the two countries agreed to reduce the trade deficit.

The volume of overall trade between China and Pakistan since 1985-86 has been as under:

In U.S. million Dollars				
Year	Exports to China	Import from China		Balance against Pakistan
1985-86	70.0	121.1	(-)	104.1
1986-87	19.2	210.9	(-)	191.7
1987-88	49.8	224.0	(-)	174.2
1988-89	191.0	309.3	(-)	118.3
1989-90	71.8	271.2	(-)	191.4
1990-91	60.8	386.2	(-)	325.4

Important projects in which China has helped Pakistan include Larkana Sugar Mills, 220-kv transmission line from Tarbela to Burhan, Tarbela Textiles Mills, Karakoram Highway, Haripur Fertiliser Plant, Islamabad Sports Complex, Cement factory Daudkhel, Guddu-IV Thermal Power Plant, heavy Mechanical Complex, Heavy Forge and Foundry, Heavy Electrical Complex, F-6 Rebuild Factory, Kamra, 7 mm gun factory (POF Wah), Rocket Propellant Plant, Oil Tanker for Pakistan Navy, and Pakistan-China Cement Plant, Iskandarabad.

Pakistan's relations with its great neighbour are a cornerstone of its foreign policy. Our reaction to the Chinese situation of June '89, therefore, was one of understanding and hope that peace and internal harmony would be speedily restored. With the West condemning China in the wake of June crisis, the visits of our Foreign Secretary, Senate Chairman and the Speaker National Assembly were greatly welcomed and appreciated by the Chinese. During Commonwealth summit in October '89, Pakistan emphasised for an understanding of Chinese difficulties and supported its position on Hongkong.

United by Anti-Americanism

91AS0245C Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 28 Oct 91 p 10

[Text] President Yang of China is paying an important visit to Pakistan, at the end of which he will go to Iran. Pakistan's armed forces chief General Asif Nawaz is in China and will also go to Iran from there. In a way, the visit could be a part of the diplomatic activity that was formalised by president Ghulam Ishaq Khan's recent visit to Iran. The trend of statements made during these visits, particularly the advocacy of setting up a 'world

order' in opposition to the one being favoured by the West and the United States, gave an inkling of the policies to be pursued in the region. The armies of the three countries feel alienated from the United States, and their political leaders fear for their security under the new world order being orchestrated by the West. Pakistan's aid has been cut off and its next-door enemy, India, is being offered economic assistance and military contacts; China's trade surplus of 13 billion dollars against the United States is being used by Washington to force Beijing to allow democracy at home and stop selling arms to Pakistan and Iran; Iran has a decade-long history of anti-Americanism, intertwined with its contradictions with the neighbouring Arabs, which sways its internal political relationships.

China has been Pakistan's trusted friend because its foreign policy was as rigid as Pakistan's vis-a-vis India. It was facing the challenge of 50 Soviet divisions on its western borders and cooperating with the United States in the latter's cold war struggle against a common enemy. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Sino-American equation changed and Washington began to focus on the Chinese Communist Party as an impediment to democracy. Pakistan's own contradictions with the United States came to a head over its nuclear programme and Pakistan's veiled resolved to pass on nuclear expertise to other countries may have brought it into the cross-hair of the joint U.S.-Western-Japanese policy of denuclearising South Asia. But Pakistan's rigidity vis-a-vis India continues because of the Kashmir dispute and its internal politics, something which is no longer true of China and Iran, both of whom are normalising and extending trade relations with India. China is not externally threatened; nor is Iran, after the reduction of the Saddam Husayn, which puts both in a

different category. Pakistan is in the unenviable position of being at cross-purposes with both the superpowers, as well as with India in the immediate neighbourhood. China cannot support it too much on Kashmir because of its own Tibet problem and Iran is bothered by the sectarian and Afghan jihad contradictions with Pakistan that the latter is helpless to resolve. The only cement that binds the three countries is the anti-Americanism of their military leadership and some political circles. Pakistan's perceptions have to be underpinned with considerations of financial assistance and transfer of technology, two areas in which neither China nor Iran would be in a position to make any promises. A military entente has always appealed to some people in Pakistan, but the economic consequences of an international reaction to it from the West and Arabs would be grave enough to cancel any security dividends that they may be hoping to extract from this entente. However, Pakistan and China can benefit from a joint strategy to make the United States take notice of its excessive tilt away from them. Pakistan's problems in the area of foreign policy are more untenable than either Iran's or China's; its rigidity with regard to relations with India and the Afghan war are tending to isolate it internationally and threatening to deprive it of support. The trilateral relationship will be beneficial for Pakistan if it can match the foreign policy flexibility in Teheran and Beijing. It would, however, be wrong on the part of Pakistan to force China and Iran to abandon the play they enjoy in the conduct of their policies regionally and internally, only to coordinate more closely with Islamabad.

Relations With Saudis Crucial

92AS0245D Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 24 Oct 91 pp 10, 11

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Pakistan's Saudi Connection"]

[Text] Within the span of a week, Pakistan's president and prime minister have been touring Saudi Arabia, the first on an official visit and the latter, for the purpose of umrah which was later converted into an official journey. These high-level visits to Saudi Arabia reflected, at one level, the official intimacy that characterises ties between Islamabad and Riyadh. Although President Ghulam Ishaq Khan [GIK] had initially scheduled a private visit to Saudi Arabia following journeys to Iran and Turkey, but after his tour of Iran, the Saudis thought it fit to invite the Pakistani president for an official visit, apparently to "balance" the Iran visit. GIK's Saudi visit apparently was the first such journey at that level between the two countries in the last 13 years. General Zia had then toured Saudi Arabia as CMLA [Chief Martial Law Administrator] in 1978. King Fahd has accepted an invitation to Pakistan, which will be the first head of state to Pakistan since October 1976, when his brother, King Khalid, came to Pakistan at the invitation of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Both countries attach importance to each other. For Pakistan, Saudi Arabia is among its three closest Islamic fiends, the others being Iran and Turkey, with all three supportive of the Pakistani position on Kashmir. Economically, Saudi Arabia is an important source of foreign exchange given the nearly half a million Pakistanis who work in the kingdom. Additionally, in recent years, with the growing animosity between Iran and Saudi Arabia, whose fallout was also felt in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, like Iran, is an important factor in promoting sectarian harmony in Pakistan. In fact the normalisation of relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia should be plus for sectarian stability in Pakistan and in this regard, there are reliable reports of a discreet dialogue between Iran and Saudi Arabia to defuse sectarian tensions in the Muslim world. Such a development would be particularly positive for a country like Pakistan which has witnessed quite a lot of such sectarian violence, whose causes are often not indigenous.

Saudi Arabia has also served as an important diplomatic conduit for Washington, and the Americans have seen Pakistan's Saudi connections as reinforcing their own interests and role in the region. For instance, in 1978, after the overthrow of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, when the Americans were keen that Pakistan drop the nuclear reprocessing plant project, the Saudi Defence Foreign Minister, Prince Sultan, clearly told the visiting Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi, not to pursue the nuclear reprocessing plant. A similar message was conveyed to Pakistan the same year by the Shah of Iran. And in 1980, after the pro-Soviet coups in south Yemen and Afghanistan, the Americans encouraged Pakistan to send troops to Saudi Arabia to allay Saudi fears of a security threat from this Soviet-sponsored radicalism, a view that the United States also shared.

For Saudi Arabia, Pakistan is seen as an important Muslim country where the Saudis have political influence dating back to 1977 when Saudi Arabia's ambassador in Islamabad, the popular Riaz al Khatib, tried to mediate between the PNA [Pakistan National Alliance] and the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] with the concurrence of both parties. Although that mediation was foiled by the July 1977 coup, the Saudi role in Pakistan's politics, the first such overt role by any foreign ambassador in a Pakistani domestic political crisis, established Saudi Arabia as one of the key external players vis-a-vis Pakistan. Pakistan is also seen as being significant by Saudi Arabia given the fact of its intimacy with Iran, and it is thus in a position to play the role of a bridge between Iran and Saudi Arabia, a role that Pakistan has been keen to promote. Pakistan is also perceived as vital by Saudi Arabia given its geographical proximity to other areas of Saudi interest, namely, Afghanistan and Central Asia. In Afghanistan, the Saudi funding for the Afghan mujahideen which is worth 250 million dollars annually has been funneled through Pakistan. Even today Saudi Arabia is central to future peace in Afghanistan since, barring Pakistan, other external actors on the Afghan scene like the United States, the Soviet Union, China,

Iran and Turkey, have all publicly committed to a political compromise in Afghanistan based on direct negotiations between the regime and the resistance in Afghanistan.

Additionally, as far as Pakistan's importance to Saudi Arabia goes, Pakistan is also perceived by the Saudis as being located at the doorway of the Persian Gulf. Often when the Saudis have had distrust of their more powerful Arab "brothers" like Egypt, Iraq and Syria or non-Arab rivals like Iran, Pakistan has been viewed as a useful counterweight, politically and strategically.

There have been three high points in the Pakistan-Saudi relationship. The first was in the aftermath of the 1973 Ramadan war when King Faisal threw his weight behind Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to convene the Lahore Islamic summit in 1974. That summit was held despite American desires to the contrary, and it helped in nurturing a personal bond between King Faisal and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The second high point of the Pakistan-Saudi relationship was during the 1977 PNA agitation in Pakistan when Saudi Arabia's stock was very high with its ambassador playing a high-profile role in Pakistani politics, something unprecedented in the annals of diplomacy, at least among two Muslim countries. The third high point came during the mid-80s when 20,000 Pakistani troops were stationed in Saudi Arabia. Relations then cooled off after 1986, when Pakistan improved its ties with Iran and its attitude on the Iran-Iraq war turned into a neutrality that was actually a tilt towards Iran. Not only Saudi Arabia, but most other Arab supporters of Iraq turned hostile to the regime of General Ziaul Haq and in 1987, the Saudis refused to renew their agreement on the stationing of Pakistani troops, with the result that this contingent was recalled to Pakistan. It is thus no accident that during General Zia's funeral in August 1988, the attendance by Arab leaders was in low key.

For the future, the relationship between the two countries could grow because of three separate reasons that are bound to impinge on these ties. First, the rapprochement between Iran and Saudi Arabia, which makes Pakistan's intimacy with Iran less unsavoury in Saudi eyes, unlike the mid-80s with the Saudis were supporting Saddam against Iran. The Iranian President Rafsanjani is scheduled to pay a state visit to Saudi Arabia at the end of the year, the first such high-level visitor from Iran to Saudi Arabia since the Islamic Revolution. The second aspect that could be a plus for Pakistan-Saudi ties is the lurking Saudi fear of dependence on the United States to an extent that could generate a negative fallout not only within the Muslim world and particularly in the Persian Gulf region, but also within Saudi Arabia as well. Hence, King Fahd's joining in with President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in vowing "to resist any new imperialism that may emerge in the region in the wake of the New World Order" a surprising but refreshing return to the sentiments that were once expressed by King Faisal. But these sentiments will be credible only when Saudi pronouncements match their practises in foreign policy.

Finally, the Saudis have been greatly irked by American procrastination over building up Saudi military capability in the aftermath of the Gulf war. The Bush administration has clearly expressed its reluctance to support enhanced Saudi military power because it fears that this military capability could one day land in radical hands, given the example of the Shah's Iran, plus a concern over the reaction of Israel, whose hegemony in the Middle East remains a prime American goal. As THE NEW YORK TIMES story of 14 October 1991 put it, the United States is reluctant to massively refurbish the Saudi armed forces because it fears that such "a step would alter the military balance in the Middle East" vis-a-vis Israel. A clear lesson for Saudi Arabia that the United States fears Muslim military might in any form and whatever its source, be it "moderate" Muslim countries like Pakistan, "Islamic fundamentalists" like Iran, "radicals" like Algeria or Syria or royalists supporting the status-quo like Saudi Arabia.

Dominated by U.S.

92AS0245E Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 22 Oct 91 pp 10-11

[Article by Sheenze: "New World Order"]

[Text] The more one thinks and considers the global situation in context of the New World Order the more he is confused. Nevertheless it is clear that the world has fallen to the U.S. interests and ambitions. Even the Americans would have not dreamt of it. Since the World War II, American has grown almost from obscurity with the most heinous act of notoriety by dropping two atom bombs in Japan, and brandish its magic golden wand of assistance to under-developed poor nations, and its school master's cudgel of authority to wayward peoples around the globe. It started an all-dimensional war against the human beings on the earth. It builds up the communist phobia in the capitalist states and publicised the atheist and immoral approach of the communism in the religious societies.

The purchased, or frightened, small countries were arrayed for containment of communism. What an irony it was that those people who did not understand communism were brainwashed and made believe through the so-called free press of the so-called free world that this godless theory was in practice in Russia. Although there did not prevail the type of communism that had been theorised by Engel and Marx. The Soviet Union was a socialist state which did not have any fundamentalist and ideological policy based on communism but adopted a system of one-party dictatorship with a central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The central committee produced its politburo to safeguard the interest of the party. The politburo was dominated by the general secretary of the central committee. Theoretically, the central committee was the policy-maker and the base of power. In practice it was the general secretary who used to dictate his personal theory in term of a policy. The Lenin doctrine was, therefore, called

Leninism and the Stalin's Stalinism. The diehard and ideologist communists were forced to leave the party or purged out. The ambitious and power hungry people joined the CPSU because it was the only way to a career in the services. Admission to the CPSU was strictly controlled. The entrants were subjected to prove their loyalty to the party through an ordeal of investigations and vigilance of the secret services. In that system, loyalty to the party overlapped loyalty to the state. Every member of the CPSU remained more concerned with his party discipline rather than the state affairs. It compelled him to go along the policy of the central committee or that of its general secretary. Civil and defence services were also overtaken by this mania. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union grew in strength to include everyone of the nine people of the population of the state. It was, indeed, a disciplined party but void of political sagacity and integrity. It thrived on ideological rhetorics and distortion of facts. Therefore, it did not improve its stability and remained shallow. Its new economic policy, collectivisation etc. did not develop the state economy. Its socialist economy being void of competitive urge did not flourish and find any market in the outside world. Its increasing demands for expenditures on defence and keep up afresh the mantle of a super-power impoverished the people. Its shallowness was exposed when Gorbachev announced his doctrine of glasnost and perestroika. The September abortive coup of the top brass communists against absent Gorbachev threw the withering feathers of the party to the air.

The American and European communities were by all means non-religious. They rather ridiculed religions blatantly. Long before, the European emperors had separated the church from the state for the reason that the church interfered in the state affairs unnecessarily. Even the Muslim states are not prepared to enforce Islamic order in letter and spirit for certain reasons. The common concept is that the religious leadership lacks political acumen and tolerance. It does not understand needs of the life. Its thinking and judgement are based on religious dogmas rather than consideration of the requirements of the person, the time and the state. These secular states publicised the idea that the Communist Soviet Union was a threat to the religions. This fear was based on the assumption of Karl Marx that the religion is the opium of the people which put them to sleep. The constitution of the Soviet Union allowed religions, but, at the same time provided allowance for anti-religion activities also. The atheist logics and stress on human needs confronted with legal support the belief and rosy promises of the religions. The secular approach to the problems of the life appealed more to the people in frustration and need. On the other hand, the free world allowed all sorts of freedoms and transgressed all the limits of chastity, morality, and decency for what is called the rights of the citizens and individuals. They have legalised certain acts which were otherwise prohibited by the religions. Their porno culture is, in no way, a service to any religion and society.

Another fear imagined and exploited by the free world was based on Peter's ambition to reach the warm waters. In this second half of the 20th century, the warm waters have no significance in global politics. It is now the oil of the Middle East which arouse covetousness of the powers. The Arab Shuyukh were already educated and brought up in the glammers of Europe and America. Their natural tilt toward America and Europe was an open invitation to the American and European states to exploit the oil resources. The Soviet Union, as a big power, aspired shares of the spoils. In this period, Middle East was made the hotbed of indirect confrontation of the super, big and rich states. The petty Arab states live on their alms and assistance and fight against each other for indulgence of their pay masters. The Soviet Middle East, particularly in Yemon, Iraq, Iran and Syria and the PLO. It was a setback to U.S. diplomacy.

The power expands unless counter-balanced by the power. The Soviet Union never repented its desire for expansion. With all its internal weaknesses and stringent economy, the Soviet Union tried relentlessly expansion and propagation of its ideology. But what one could term the 15th century colonisation by the Western powers and the 20th century hegemony of the United States The British empire did not leave on its own will India and Pakistan to freedom and democracy. It was forced by some factors, principal and pressing one being the political awareness of the peoples of the subcontinent. The United States was forced to end its war in Vietnam. The Soviet Union realised its blunder of sending its troops to Afghanistan due to fierce reaction from the free world and resistance from the free-minded Afghans.

There is nothing religious, human or democratic in the political strategies of expansions and contractions. These are the slogans for under-developed, poor and uneducated masses which are used as pawns by the beneficiaries of the political masters. The theorists have emphasised balance of power for maintenance sort of peace on the earth. The balance of power between the great, or superpowers divided the world in spheres of influence. The small nations pretend that they are free. They just are amused with the mythical stories of independence. The conditional independence of small states is symbolised by the puppet rulers who are free to trample on the dissidents with the assistance and blessings of the benefactors.

The Soviet Union performed a dramatic somersault which has stunned the world. What Gorbachev is doing for improvement of the state has ripped apart the country mercilessly. Twelve cut of its 15 states have almost declared independence. The Soviet Union has become a so-called union. Now Gorbachev proposed economic alliance. It has been reduced to the status of a state of the United States And the United States has become master of the world. The U.S. attack on Iraq and silence of the Soviet Union was a clear indication to other small nations that they should not think of exploiting any more the political polarisation between

the two superpowers. They must give up the habit of begging and chewing the saltish bones of benefactor's alms. They should also mend their habit of fighting against each other with the arms and backing of their fight-masters. Building up self-sufficiency in arms by the small nations is an intolerable crime. What the United States, the ex-USSR and other big powers were indulging in wars prohibited for other nations of the world. The Nazi theory of German superiority over other peoples has been inherited in letter and spirit by all the white states in favour of their own peoples. A very minor event in context of the universal affairs was magnified to such an extent that almost the entire world was raised against the tiny country of Iraq which was posing a threat to the United States backed Israel in the Middle East. The Kuwait affair was not a new one. It has been persisting since 1940s. And as compared with the Russian aggression of Afghanistan, it was a very very small affair. But for eight years, the United States just tap the Afghan mujahideen on their back to fight out the godless communists. When Reagan declared that the fighting in Afghanistan was jihad against the atheistic communism, the "beneficiaries" provided religious justification to validity of his verdict. But when the Russian troops withdrew, then the United States opened eyes to see that the mujahideen were not united and thus unable to achieve the goal. Therefore, there was no need of further arms supply to them. Their infightings and their indulgence in heroin business were discovered all of a sudden. Pakistan is being prepared and pressurised now to get rid of millions of these "uninvited guests," who were tolerated, heretofore, as people of the same faith, the same language and the same culture and history. Pakistan has been awakened to realise, all of sudden, that the presence of three millions Afghan refugees on its soil has aggravated its economic situation. After 12 years, the Pakistani authorities came to know that mujahideen or muhajireen are involved in criminal acts and that they are instrumental in introduction of the klashnikov culture. That the arms supplied for jihad against the communist regime in Afghanistan were sold by the so-called fighters of God in the open markets for buying luxuries. The authenticity of numerous one-man Afghan news agencies, which fed the news and views of the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corporation for over 10 years, is now doubted by these "reliable services." The lofty claims and boastful victories of mujahideen commanders reacted mocking smile from their sympathisers. Now that the relevance of the U.S. jihad against the communism in Afghanistan has come to an end, and the U.S. interest in revival of Indo-Pak conflicts had been reanimated, the American lobby in Pakistan also turned the barrels of their propaganda guns toward Kashmir. The Afghan jihad conferences and rallies and press publicity mastered by this lobby gave way to the freedom fight in Kashmir. It is very clear that since the collapse of the dreadful Soviet Union, there remains no power on the earth to put eyes in the eyes of America. The unexpected end of communism in the Soviet Union left, both, the Soviet Union and the American lobbies agape. The anti-communism slogans were hushed up

abruptly by the American lobby, although the communism still prevails in the Peoples Republic of China. But since there is no threat to the ascendancy of the United States from China, it is ignored with diplomatic grace. The sudden change in the Soviet Union gave a sudden setback to the anti-communist elements in the capitalist bloc. Having lost the target unexpectedly, they are now floundering in the dark abyss of uncertainty. Were they fighting against the communist or against the Soviet Union which stood a rival to the United States in global politics? If they were against the communist, then they still have the ground to stand against the People's Republic of China. But if they played the U.S. game against the Soviet Union, they have definitely lost the ground. The free, but highly prejudiced, press of the free world had transformed effectively the phobia of the Soviet expansionism into propagation of godless communism in order to raise a formidable wall of containment of the Muslim states of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan on the south-western frontiers of the Soviet Union. The marshal plan of 1946 was the base of U.S. Policy of containment of the Soviet Union. The iron curtain drawn by the communist bloc of the Soviet Union was darkened more by the free press of the free world in order to widen the gap between that side and this side. The Soviet Union also struggled relentlessly for defence as well as offence. Its most effective weapon was the slogans in favour of the frustrated and the exploited people. Poverty and frustration in the glamorous cultures of the whites allowed an easy pervasion of the Soviet voice for equality, social justice and freedom of capitalist exploitation.

In fact, both sides exploited ruthlessly the weaknesses of the poor nations and put them against each other like fighting dogs. The same advises and guidance of national leaders are hushed up by religious, sectarian, social and sentimental resonant rhetorics. Such people always suffer on the charge of reason. The exorcism of the monster of communism and fragmentation of the Soviet Union created a vacuum with some new problems. The oppressed people of the Soviet Union are fighting for freedom from the slavery of the white Russian dominance and the ideology of the communism. In Afghanistan, Dr. Najibullah and his government have already declared that they had abandoned communism and have changed even the name of their People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan to Watan Party. But the mujahideen still believe that their uproar against the communism is effective. They should know that when their paymasters shook their heads to their rhetorics it did not mean that they believed in their fairy tales but they had their own designs to hold them fight against their common enemy. They did not like and plan at anytime that the mujahideen should replace the communist government. The promoters of this drama are not Muslims. They have no sympathy for the Muslim fighters against the communist invaders. They wanted to bleed communist polar bear and force it to retreat. For this game, they had been playing all around the globe to weaken the

Soviet Union. Defence pacts, economic sanctions, diplomatic pressure, political isolation and so on. While containing the Soviet Union, the United States never wanted building up an Islamic Frankenstein. The United States, the UK and other allied non-Muslim states set up Israeli and bleed the very heart of the Islamic world. The liquid gold of the Arab deserts is drained into the golden glimmers of America and Europe. And the endemic interstate schism is deepened more and more. The champions of democracy help the Arab monarchies tighten their grip on their mute subjects. The nationalist and progressive elements are obfuscated from the scene by strong free media. Others were lured to indulgence in Western luxuries and escape the limits of the Shariat which prevails in their states for suppression of dissidence. While helping Israel to stabilise its economy and defence right in the heart of Islam, the Muslim states are punished even for such considerations. The arms supplied to the parasite underdeveloped and developing nations are conditioned to be used only and only against the enemies of the suppliers and not against their own enemies. Iraq and Iran, both, were supported through underground channels as long as they were fighting against each other. But no sooner, Iraq occupied the small state of Kuwait then the United States led the entire free world against the "aggressor" so that the threat to Israel from Iraq could be averted in time. Even after liberation of Kuwait, Iraq is chased under one pretext or the other.

The unexpected collapse of the Soviet Union opened the world to the U.S. hegemony. Since the United States has assumed the responsibility of the entire world, it has pronounced the "New World Order." What this New World Order is? It is yet to be determined. Obviously it reflects that the world should resign to the wish of the United States. The states having used two atom bombs on human beings and entered into the star war has been allergic to use of force by certain governments against their rebellious forces which receive all types of arms from the U.S. allies for use against their countrymen. Those states which have some reservations are chastised by the United States under various pretexts. The Indo-Pak subcontinent is one of its targets. The only provoking matter in this region is the political awareness of the people who had once given tough time to the British rule. Religious sentiments, ethnic differences and secessionist designs are played up to add fuel to the fire. Babri Mosque, Khalistan, revival of Kashmir issue, ethnic tension in Sindh and Balochistan are at flames. In Pukhtoonkhwa also the minority of Hindkowan is incited to rise against the majority of the Pukhtoons. Afghanistan is already afloat in the torrents of the blood of its own people. In this New World Order dragging these states to disintegration and anarchy, and ultimate emergence of small ethnic states at war against each other. This may or may not take shape, but the state of uncertainty has occupied the brain.

The small nations are soaked in their own sweat and blood. They cannot raise their heads. But there are some

fears from the developed nations which will continue to bother the United States. Reunification of Germany, Japan's monopolisation of trade in under-developed areas, political awareness in East European states against the ex-USSR and in West European states against the lordship of American will be posing threats to the U.S. hegemony. The United States would not be at rest unless it could shatter these rivals. The united Germany and Japan are active contributory members of the U.S.-led anti-communism bloc. It will, therefore, take some time for the United States to find and make some excuse for their punishment. But it cannot close eyes to Pakistan's growing economic and defense stability which can elevate to a status in due course of Islamic leadership and hence a threat to Israeli. India is, in no way, ready to bow before the U.S. New World Order. The ongoing efforts and long-standing wish of the peoples of these two countries for creation of peaceful sphere were surprisingly foiled by the sudden revival of the more than 40-year-old Kashmir issue. On both sides of the control line, the U.S.-sponsored parties started fanning the smouldering ashes. The walls of Peshawar which bore continuously for 12 years slogans of the Afghan jihad are now painted everyday with slogans of freedom of Kashmir. Although the leadership on both sides are weak and wary and try to avoid another war, yet the possibility of war is very much there due to harebrained fanaticism of the American lobby. This lobby has to regain some ground which it has lost by disappearance of the ghost of communism. It is faltering to stand again on the crutches of fanaticism. Its fanatic ideology is distorted mercilessly to suit its aspirations. Whether the United States now wants this lobby or not, but it definitely wants the U.S. support. Because it does not enjoy any sizeable support of the people of Pakistan. It has to answer to its brainwashed followers and guarantee its survival. The tiny political speck of this lobby is magnified expertly by its loud publicity and highlighted by the wall slogans in which Islam is misused blatantly. Within the government it criticises the government more than the opposition with a view to attracting the growing frustrated lot.

Pakistan and India have scores of internal problems. They cannot afford to test their arms at the cost of their poor and exploited populations and national integrity. The invested interests on both sides exploit the instability of their governments recklessly. But they should understand that another war will be disastrous for both the countries. At this crucial juncture, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Qirghizia should come closer for their survival. They are economically inter-dependent. They should consider an economic alliance and a viable guarantee of non-interference in each others' internal affairs. The European bloc, India and China should be attracted to friendship of the regional alliance. The Middle East may again warm up to prompt a competition between America and the European bloc not only for a good market but for the liquid gold also. In such a situation the regional alliance will be able to keep the balance.

UN Not Trustworthy*92AS0245F Karachi DAWN in English 26 Oct 91 p 15*

[Article by Shameem Akhtar: "UN and New World Order"]

[Text] During 46 years of its chequered and eventful history, the membership of the United Nations has risen from 51 to 166 in the current year. Most Third World nations which have taken their place in the world body owe their emergence as independent states to its political and moral support. This has transformed the UN into a representative institution of the international community, giving it a populist orientation.

The UN charter's commitment to self-determination and equality of states has given legitimacy to the struggle for national liberation in the Third World countries. In this respect, the Soviet bloc played a decisive role in countering the obstructionist role of the colonial powers which had occupied most Afro-Asian countries. The latest beneficiary of the UN's liberational role is Namibia which until lately had been ruled by Pretoria.

The organisation's role was not limited to the maintenance of peace and security, a primary role so effectively played by it. The charter in Articles I (3) and 55 provides for international cooperation in solving economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. By adopting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and covenants on civil and political rights and on economic, social and cultural rights, the UN has codified an international bill of rights for mankind.

It is gratifying to note that a worldwide movement for the adoption of human rights and fundamental freedom by the constitutions of states is now under way although certain countries have often used it as a pretext of intervention, a practice reminiscent of the meddling of European powers in the Oriental countries such as the Ottoman Empire, Iran, Egypt, Maghreb and China during the nineteenth century.

The Food and Agricultural Organisation rushed emergency supplies to the drought-hit countries of Africa and saved millions of people from certain death by starvation, though the organisation's work was lately hampered by fighting in Ethiopia, Somalia and the Sudan. The UN agency could feed the hungry population of the world if only the affluent nations could place their surplus food production at its disposal instead of using it as a lever for political influence.

In the political field, the UN's record is not disappointing if not exemplary. As mentioned above, it helped the former colonies gain independence from alien domination. But the political map of the world still shows the existence of colonies such as Falklands, Northern Ireland, Puerto Rico, Guam, Panama Canal Zone, Guantanamo, West Bank, Gaza, South Lebanon and Diego Garcia.

These territories continue to be occupied by countries such as United States, Britain and Israel despite the UN call for their withdrawal. The question is whether United States would deploy troops as it did against Iraq during the Gulf war to liberate them now that the New World Order has come to stay with Washington as its unchallenged leader. This is what President Bush proclaimed at the graduation ceremony of the U.S. Air Force Academy at Colorado in the euphoria of the so-called victory of his country against Iraq: "in world leadership we have no challengers... More recently, many here and abroad wondered whether America still possessed the strength and the will to bear the burden of world leadership. My fellow Americans, we do and we will."

But one is disappointed to see Washington's tardiness in persuading Israel to vacate its 24-year-old Gaza and 9-year-old occupation of Golan Heights in compliance with the Security Council resolutions. On the contrary Israel has been the recipient of bounties from Washington. In his address to the UN General Assembly President Bush went to the extent of pressing for the repeal of the 1975 resolution on Zionism.

Earlier, the United States opposed a proposal in that body calling for extending the scope of the decolonisation resolution to racism and apartheid. Needless to say that the 29 November 1947 UN General Assembly resolution 181(ii) providing for the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states is now a dead letter. There cannot be a greater act of contempt of that august body than to exclude Palestinian state from the agenda of the forthcoming Middle East peace conference. President Bush rejected outright any possibility of the establishment of Palestinian state. In his above-mentioned UN address he spoke of U.S. determination to find peaceful settlement of regional conflicts such as Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cyprus, El Salvador and Western Sahara but he omitted Kashmir where insurgency and brutal repression threaten peace in the region inhabited by one billion people.

There also, the proponent of the New World Order has conveniently forgotten about 21 April 1948 Security Council resolution and the UNCIP [UN Commission for India and Pakistan] resolutions of 13 August 1948 and 4 January 1949 enjoining upon the parties to abide by internationally-supervised plebiscite in Kashmir.

The discrepancy between the professed stand and the actual deed of the United States not only erodes the authority of the UN but also destroys its credibility. The Security Council, by a unanimous vote, created a Kurdish enclave in northern Iraq with UN but also destroys its credibility. The Security Council, by a unanimous vote, created a Kurdish enclave in northern Iraq with UN troops deployed there, replacing the Iraqi police, an arrangement similar to the capitulation system imposed by European powers on the Ottoman Turkey during the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But, across the border, in southeastern Turkey,

where Ankara government had banned the use of Kurdish language and its troops bomb the villages of ethnic Kurds on both sides of the Turko-Iraq frontier, killing thousands of Kurds, the Security Council does not create any enclave. Similarly Israeli troops are at war with the Palestinian population in West Bank and Gaza shooting women and children, and desecrating the holy places.

The Security Council simply decided to send a 3-man observation team to find out the facts following the 8 October massacre of the Palestinians. Israel refused to admit the team to the occupied territories and the Security Council did not take any action. On the other hand, in September, when Iraq refused permission to the UN inspection team most of whose members were U.S. citizens and passed on sensitive information to Israel, the Security Council and Bush administration threatened to resort to air attacks on Iraq.

Why doesn't the Security Council order the inspection of Israel and South Africa which are engaged in nuclear weapons manufacturing programme. On the other hand the United States has been covering up the clandestine weapons capability of these states. Now, Pakistan, a faithful ally of the United States, is whipping boy and its economic and military aid has been cut off because of its suspected nuclear programme.

The embargo on Iraq continues for which there is no justification since Kuwait has been vacated by Iraqi troops. The Security Council resolution 600 (ii) envisages the continuation of sanctions until the termination of Iraqi occupation thus: "(Security Council) decides to keep this item on the agenda and to continue its efforts to put an early end to the invasion by Iraq." But when it comes to applying sanctions against Israel and Pretoria, Britain and United States oppose the move. During the Harare Commonwealth Summit, the British prime minister opposed the continuation of sanctions against South Africa on 17 October. The one-sided action of the Security Council does not inspire the confidence of the world community which sees it as a tool of the big powers.

President Bush waxed eloquent about the advent of the New World Order in his address at the Maxwell Air Base on 13 April. He outlined the following basic points that ought to govern the inter-state relations:

- 1) peaceful settlement of disputes,
- 2) solidarity against aggression,
- 3) reduced and controlled arsenals and
- 4) just treatment of all peoples.

A hurried glance at these principles would reveal that there is nothing new about them. These are already embodied in the UN Charter. So what is new and unique about them. The honest statement would have been to call upon the nations to strengthen the United Nations and implement its spirit. For it is the spirit which is lacking.

Let us examine Bush's brew point by point. 1) Peaceful settlement of disputes. The very first article of the UN charter states the purposes and principles of the UN: "to maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international laws, adjustment or settlement of international disputes..." This is such a comprehensive provision that it covers points nos. 1 and 2 of Bush's proposal. In addition, there is chapter VI relating to the Pacific settlement of disputes as provided for in Articles 33-38 while chapter VII comprising Articles 39-51 lays down the procedure of enforcement measure. These are so judicious that they prevent the possibility of arbitrary military action against an adversary such as happened during the Gulf war. The United States pressured its camp followers to join it in war against Iraq without complying with Articles 45-47 which provide for the establishment of Military Staff Committee to conduct the operation in consultation with the Security Council. The Gulf war was fought outside the command structure of the United Nations.

The UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar told THE INDEPENDENT that it was not a UN war. First the invasion was made and then the Security Council was informed. This was not a war but action based on enmity. In an interview to the BBC the UN chief said, "the UN being used as a fig leaf for the U.S.-led military aggression against Iraq. This is a U.S. war not a UN war." But it seems that the UN chief thinks that people's memory is shorter than what it actually is since in his annual report he made the following remarks at the opening of the UN General Assembly: "the United Nations was not designed to monopolise the peace process, that as long as a credible peace process was in motion, there could be no cause for complaint that the organisation was being bypassed."

The UN Secretary General has now owned up the U.S.-led aggression retroactively, justifying action outside the UN! He had also condemned the U.S. bombing of civilians, vehicles carrying food, medicine, etc. Lamenting over the sufferings of the Iraqi people, he said it had nothing to do with the Security Council resolution.

Further, Perez told THE INDEPENDENT: "The UN is first on organisation for peace and humanitarian purpose. The United States was not allowing food, causing death of Iraqi children. Children have no leanings. We want to send medicine for the civilian population of Iraq. Milk is not food, it is medicine for children." No wonder 30,000 Iraqi children died while the UN was celebrating the Universal Children's Day. It is like fiddling while Rome burns. But Bush has been using sanctions as an instrument for overthrowing Saddam Husayn.

In April, at Maxwell Air Force Base, he said: "With Saddam in power, Iraq will remain a pariah nation, its

people denied moral context with most of the outside world." Again, he told the UN General Assembly: "We must keep the UN sanctions in place as long as he (Saddam Husayn) remains in power." Here, again the UN Secretary General did not see eye to eye with the standard-bearer of the New World Order as he said in an interview with the French television in the beginning of March: "I cannot agree with measures that are aimed at overthrowing the government of a country which is a member of the United Nations. If the objective of pursuing sanctions is to topple the Iraqi regime, then I do not agree. The fall of Saddam Husayn is the business of the Iraqi population. It is not for the UN or for other countries to decide if Saddam Husayn will fall or will not fall."

The UN chief has taken a principled stand since Article II (7) precludes any intervention in matters lying "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state" but the Bush administration has been violating it. Bush has now taken on China, North Korea and Cuba using human rights and non-proliferation as pretext for intervention. This interference has now extended from politics to internal economy of a state since the United States seeks to impose its own economic system upon others. To that end, it has been using the United Nations since President Bush made it very clear to the member states in his address to UN General Assembly during the current session: "The United Nations can encourage free-market development through its international lending and aid institutions."

In the new dispensation there is no place for international economic cooperation between states having different social and economic systems on the basis of equality as provided by the 1 May 1974 UN General Assembly resolution on the New International Economic Order.

As for the proposed "reduced and controlled arsenal" embodied in the 3rd point of the Bush plan, one sees double standards since the United States and its allies have made no secret of their intention to provide arms to their clients in the Middle East and block weapons transfer to Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. This became apparent at Colorado Springs and Paris Summit as mentioned above. In fact the deployment of the military-naval-air forces of the United States and its NATO allies in Gulf is yet another violation of the UN General Assembly resolution on establishment of a zone of peace in the Indian ocean region.

Further, the just treatment of all peoples as proclaimed by Bush is very vague and is intended to evade the principle of equality of all states as provided in Article 2(1) of the UN Charter.

In conclusion, the role of the United Nations will be diminished if the principle of equality of states, respect for domestic jurisdiction and procedure for enforcement action are set aside and a form of unilateralism is imposed upon the world by the United States in the

name of the New World Order. There never was a greater need for strengthening the UN Charter than it is today.

New Ambassador to U.S. Interviewed on Relations, Outlook

92AS0243E Karachi DAWN in English (Supplement)
1 Nov 91 pp 1-2

[Article by Anjum Niaz: "The Furor at the Foreign Office"]

[Text] When Benazir Bhutto became the Prime Minister, Syeda Abida Hussain's political career was put on the back burner. No matter what the fiery MNA [member of National Assembly] from Jhang said, it always backfired. After PPP's [Pakistan People's Party] fall, fortune still didn't favor...she lost the 1990 elections. However, she made a triumphant come back last May as Prime Minister's Adviser on Population. And now comes the news that Chandi, as she is popularly known, flies to Washington on November 15 to start her new assignment as Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States!

A few eyebrows have been raised at the appointment. One columnist of an Urdu daily suggests three names in place of Chandi for this august post: General (R) Mirza Aslam Beg, General (R) K.M. Arif and Maulana Kausar Niazi. What does the lady Ambassador-designate have to say? "Every person has every right to comment upon appointments made by the Government, but I think the reality of the moment in world affairs and certainly in the West is that militaristic issues are being downplayed.

"Generals from the Third World countries, particularly from Muslim states, are not a very fashionable commodity in the West these days, even though we in Pakistan may still look upon them with the greatest of awe." Abida Hussain explains that while Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif didn't want an ex-army, ex-navy or an ex-airforce person as his man in Washington, he couldn't appoint a sitting MNA, MPA [member of Provincial Assembly], or a Senator either. "So by a process of elimination, my name came up for this post."

Syeda Abida Hussain is the obvious choice. But not to some senior foreign Office bureaucrats, who are fairly cut up with her bagging the choicest post. Their sympathies lie with their colleague, Ambassador Najmuddin Shaikh, who after a ten-month stint in Washington is being sent to Turkey. The timing of his transfer coincided with Abida Hussain's visit to the United States, giving rise to rumors that somehow Chandi had something to do with Najmuddin Shaikh's exit.

"I had no idea that I would be asked to replace Ambassador Shaikh. However, what I did have an idea and so did the Ambassador, was that the Government in Islamabad was thinking about making a fresh appointment, because it felt that the US Pakistan relations seemed to be deteriorating. While his diplomatic skills are well-established, he was somewhat junior and got this assignment in Washington rather early in his career."

On her return from the United States, Abida Hussain stopped in London for a week. "I was contacted by a cabinet colleague who suggested to me that since the Prime Minister was thinking of offering me Washington, I should use the time to discuss the matter with my husband who was also there and come home prepared with an answer. It was a very difficult decision for me to make and I agonized over it for days."

She had her personal and career commitments to consider: "I am a very indigenous person... I enjoy my country and enjoy working for it. Over a period of time I have built up involvements, commitments, connections. It's not easy to pull yourself out suddenly and go... plus I would be leaving behind my family... my husband, my son, my mother and my farm."

But once Abida Hussain has taken the plunge there is no looking back for her. The Foreign Ministry unfortunately has still to reconcile itself with this news. Nor have her detractors given her a break... two theories seem to be doing the rounds in Islamabad these days in connection with Mr Shaikh's transfer. One, that he is a Sindhi, second, that his wife, the talented Raana Shaikh, organized a Cultural show in Washington which didn't please the fundamentalists in Pakistan. And finally, according to a wag, one Foreign Office heavyweight was allegedly heard commenting in New York that it was time a Punjabi ambassador got posted to Washington.

"As far as the provincial extraction is concerned, officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs come from different regions of the country. Whereas belonging to a particular region may have a relevance in the context of affairs of internal management. Being a Punjabi, Baloch, Pathan or a Sindhi shouldn't be the criterion for a diplomatic assignment. I don't see how a Punjabi ambassador is going to be better than a Sindhi," says Hussain.

Referring to the discipline at the Foreign Office, the Ambassador-designate says a diplomat is required to serve as and when ordered by the government of the day. Therefore "if we are going to allow our diplomats to express resentment, purely because they are transferred from one post to another, then you know the foreign Office will cease to be an institution, it will just become a Qabila!"

Getting back to the much talked about Cultural Show, would Abida Hussain organize a similar one?

"Raana Shaikh did an excellent job and her efforts to raise funds through this show put her in a very favorable light. Our entry points with the United States now are social and cultural issues, and I intend having a folk and a craft festival in Washington."

Not the ones to be left behind, PPP circles have floated their own theory in the Press regarding Abida Hussain's posting: "Unfortunately in the shrill atmosphere of bipartisan politics that we are into, whatever the Government does is taken in a negative sense. And now it is

being said that I am being sent to try and undo the image or the goodwill created by the Leader of the Opposition in Washington for herself.

"In fact a journalist asked me a few days ago whether I was going to Washington with a mandate to destroy Benazir Bhutto's image. My answer was: 'Certainly not. Ms Bhutto has her own role to play and how she comports herself or what linkages she maintains or what frequency of visits she pursues to the United States is her own business. I am the nominee of the Government of Pakistan. I will hold no personal opinions needless to say, but only reflect Government's opinion.' So I said to the journalist:

"You are quite wrong, I am going to Washington to confuse the State Department! And how? The Ambassador of India to Washington happens to be called Abid Hussain, so it's going to be great fun...we're bound to end up getting each other's mail, and since my name has one extra syllable to it, I can only assume that I'll get to read more of his mail than he'll get to read mine!"

Well-armed with her Government's brief, Abida Hussain feels that while the United States and Pakistan may not see eye to eye on security concerns with regard to signing the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, "the United States attempts to exercise influence in different ways to make us roll back on our nuclear programme. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has offered to keep the dialogue going: We agree to disagree..."

20 Years Experience

Meanwhile, Abida intends to explore a whole range of other issues that she can discuss with... "drug prevention, human rights, democratic development, social issues like population, health, education and sanitation. What someone like myself will be taking to my new assignment is 20 years of work experience in mainstream politics, and here is where I think I may possibly have an advantage over a professional diplomat."

But, the Foreign Office people question Abida's intellectual depth, verbal and academic skills and her educational qualifications. "Whether I'll do well or not is arguable and only time can tell. But in terms of applying realistic yardsticks...if academic qualifications are a yardstick, then we should perhaps have Ph.Ds sitting around as ambassadors in the Foreign Office!"

According to her, education is an ongoing process in the life of any human being... "there is a certain amount that is learnt by us in academic institutions, a certain amount on job training and there's a certain amount all of us learn in the school of life."

"If my contribution on the foreign policy debates in the national Assembly been worth a comment by the same mandarins of the Foreign Office who are now amongst my detractors then I can only say that this is a little bit personalized."

Continuing in the same strain, she wonders why the Foreign Office has this notion that one must be a professional to understand the political environment of Washington. "Well, that makes me smile, because I don't see how going from one diplomatic assignment to another in the various capitals of the world, stopping enroute for a couple of years in the rarefied atmosphere of Islamabad can make a professional diplomat understand the political intricacies of the system in Washington better than a political worker who has been through the rough and tumble of seven elections, won six, lost one—local and parliamentary, worked on legislative processes and procedures and is by now fairly comfortable in the lingo of politicians...which is the lingo that the Capitol Hill understands...the Hill doesn't understand the lingo of diplomatic jargon!"

Why is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs so myopic she asks? Why is it making so much fuss about her appointment? Why did it not react when a former Air Marshal was being sent, when a former General was being sent? "But they have reacted in a rather narrow and if I may say chauvinistic light when a political worker is being sent."

"This doesn't help the impression about our Establishment...it only confirms that our establishment has been so self-seeking and so disorderly for so long that they will not subject themselves to any work ethics or any discipline and I might in passing also mention here that to the best of my knowledge the letters written and printed in the Press were in fact drafted in a quiet room in many of the inner sanctums of the ministry of Foreign Affairs and this is bad form...it doesn't help the institution."

"I think all of us as Pakistanis must learn to abide by certain rules of discipline. If I can put my career into the deep freeze for a while, pick myself up and go into the unknown for the call of national duty, professional diplomats should pick themselves and go wherever they are sent without their friends carping on the subject. It is very painful for me that when the Government of Pakistan sent my papers to the United States for Agreement, while U.S. embassy in Islamabad was keeping close touch with me, regrettably Ministry of Foreign Affairs had opted to distance itself."

Abida doesn't mince her words and seems upset by the criticism voiced from various quarters, including the Foreign Office on her appointment.

Yuppy City

What will her house as a house of Pakistan look like in Washington?

"It will look like Pakistan and I hope it will look like the best of Pakistan because Pakistan deserves the best. I am taking with me a library on Pakistan...pictorial works, and books. I believe we don't disseminate enough information on our country and one of the limitations is that we don't go beyond the notion of presenting onyx

ashtrays and little phulkaris...that we consider expression of friendship. Or if we are feeling extra generous, we dish out the occasional Pakistani meal as the ultimate expression of hospitality."

Washington is a very "yuppy city", it has an enormous appetite for information because it's a very "competitive city". "Careers are made and unmade on the basis of who knows how much on what...so what I plan to do is to use my embassy personnel to help me extract information out of books, out of documents, out of government publications for the dissemination of information on agriculture, forests, fisheries, livestock, horticulture, flora and fauna, land, people, culture, history and traditions of Pakistan."

"I would like to use this assignment to inform as many Americans—individuals and institutions—as I possibly can on what Pakistan is all about. Similarly, I want the Pakistani Americans living in the United States to have patriotic vibes for their motherland as the American Jews, Palestinians, Italians and Irish have. We don't need them to be either IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] workers or PPP workers. Instead, we want them to be Pakistani Democrats or Pakistani Republicans...only then can we hope to get somewhere."

Pakistani Community

"I will run an embassy which is going to be open to the people and not shut in their faces which unfortunately is a pattern followed by most of the professional diplomats. They really don't want the hassle of dealing with Pakistanis and then they also have the resource restraints. The Government of Pakistan does not pay them too well...if they have kids to raise and have a modest private income or no private income, they really have corners to cut and can't have an open house."

This is where someone like Ambassador Jamshed Marker was a tremendous success says Abida. He spent his own money and could afford to spend it...it made all the difference...he enjoyed enormous goodwill with the Pakistani community, says Chandi. "I am also one of the fortunate ones whom Pakistan has been most bountiful, I intend spending my private income on my countrymen."

On the eve of her departure to the United States, things at home don't particularly look too rosy?

"I have been agonizing over the mistakes that we might be making, but I think that all in all our first year in office has been a mixed one—not a year of spectacular triumph, nor a year of wholesale failure. I am confident that the Government has the ability to improve its performance".

According to her, in Pakistan we have been hit by our first discovered, articulated and debated scam. The Americans are used to them and while scams are terrible things, they don't necessarily bring down governments!

Abida Hussain is confident of her success in the United States. "I am partially familiar with Washington...it's an easy place to get along with, it's an easy place to get on with...Americans are verbalizers...they verbalize everything. I happen to be a person who does the same. So I don't fear communicating.

"Americans are also forthright and they have a basic sense of fairplay. It's a question of putting your own thoughts in their language and getting across to them through their intrinsic sense of fairplay. I didn't go to an American institution, but from my children who have been through the American school system, I have learnt to develop and understanding of how the American work ethic is developed." Currently, Abida Hussain's two daughters are studying at Harvard.

Intellectual Capabilities

How does she intend coping without the support of a spouse in Washington?

"As I said to the wife of one of our former ambassadors—Begum Ejaz Azim, 'My problem is that I don't have a wife. Jokes aside, I have to put up with the personal deprivation that any woman who is attached to her husband feels if she is separated from him. I will be depriving myself of Fakhr's often invaluable advice.

"On the other hand, there is a distinct advantage in being a Muslim woman Ambassador in Washington. I may not be able to persuade the Americans of my intellectual capabilities. Assuming that I may have limited ones as the Foreign Office thinks, I certainly will have a curiosity value.

And finally the oft-repeated question asked of women who climb right to the top: does she think being a woman has any reason for the rebellion in the male-dominated bastion of the Foreign Office?

"As a woman to woman, I can't help saying that women have to be twice as good as men to be where they are. But I have never held my sex to be a liability. I have tried to maximize the advantage of it, I have tried to work the courtesies inherent in me to my advantage and this is how I have been able to proceed and break ground, break barriers. I don't feel ineffectiveness on the basis of my gender status.

"If I have failed in certain areas, it's been a human failure and a personal failure, not a gender failure, but like most working women in the world of today, I have recognized with certain amount of realism that women are easier to pick upon, women are easier to push around and women are easier to criticize...but then there are women who after all take it all on the chin as strongly as any man does. I hope I am one of those women."

Regional Affairs

Commentary Observes Divided Views on Afghanistan

92AS0150C Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 7 Nov 91
p 10

[Article: "Afghan Muddle"]

[Text] Either the Pakistan Government is not in control of its Afghanistan policy or it is not serious about its avowed intentions to seek a political settlement of the 13-year-old crisis. One is led into scepticism following the statement made by Prof. Sibghatullah Mujadaddi, the President of the Mujahideen's interim government based in Pakistan, on October 29, in which he said that the proposed visit of an official Mujahideen delegation to Moscow on November 3, for holding talks with Soviet officials, had been put off indefinitely.

The meeting in Moscow was regarded as crucial to start seriously a political process in Afghanistan so as to establish durable peace and an elected government in Kabul, within the framework of the UN Secretary-General's plan of May, 1991.

Prior to the scheduled visit to Moscow, the Pakistan Government had apparently prepared sufficient ground for the proposed talks with the Soviet officials. A Mujahideen delegation had held talks on the issue in New York with Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin besides meetings with the United States and some other foreign government officials. Talks of a similar nature had been held in Tehran as well since about two million Afghan refugees are living in Iran and in Jeddah because of Saudi's intimate connection with the Afghan affair.

Ishaq Khan

In Islamabad, too, considerable activity related to the Afghan imbroglio was seen. President Ghulam Ishaq Kahn had reportedly held at least three meetings of the special Afghan Cell composed of civil and military authorities, in the past recent weeks. They were supposed to have helped in removing the reported differences in the perceptions of the foreign office and military authorities on the future course of action in the Afghanistan issue. Saudi Prince Taraki al-Faisal, heading the Saudi intelligence agency, had paid his second visit in recent weeks, towards the end of October, ostensibly to bring the dissident Afghan elements round to a collective effort for political settlement in Afghanistan. The Prince's main job was to inform the so-called fundamentalist Mujahideen leaders such as Engineer Gulbadin Hekmatyar, Prof. Yunuf Khalkis and Prof. Rasul Sayyaf that Saudi Arabia wanted them to join the other mainstream Afghan Mujahideen elements to work out a political settlement in Afghanistan instead of insisting on pursuing a military course which to date is reported to have claimed over a million-and-half Afghan lives.

After Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's meeting with the Mujahideen leaders in the presence of Prince Taraki on October 24, it was announced that a Mujahideen leaders' delegation would leave for Moscow on November 3 for talks with the Soviet officials. However, only five days later, Prof. Mujadaddi told newsmen that the visit to Moscow had been put off and a new date would be decided later. The Mujahideen leaders' volte-face after the high-level parleys with the Prime Minister and the Saudi prince, leaves no-one in doubt that Islamabad's hold on the well-armed Afghan Mujahideen groups is tenuous or that the Pakistani authorities themselves have not been able to reconcile their in-house differences. Possibly, the army and the ISI [Inter Services Intelligence], on the one hand, and the civil establishment including the Foreign Office, on the other, do not as yet hold identical views on the future of Afghanistan.

Annexation of Disputed Territory Claimed Imminent

92AS0243A Karachi DAWN in English 27 Oct 91 p 11

[Text] Rawalpindi, Oct 26: Former Prime Minister of Azad Kashmir and President, PPP [Pakistan People's Party], Azad Kashmir, Raja Mumtaz Hussain Rathore, claimed here on Saturday that the present government in Islamabad had decided to merge Gilgit and Baltistan with Pakistan.

The decision, he told a Press conference, could be announced in a few days. Terming the development a matter of grave concern, he said the move would seriously damage Pakistan's stand on the Kashmir dispute.

"Gilgit and Baltistan are historically parts of Jammu and Kashmir state," he said, adding that Pakistan's consistent stand at the United Nations recognized these areas as a disputed territory.

"To merge them with Pakistan will be like stabbing the Kashmiris in the back because, by doing so, we will be providing justification for India's usurpation of occupied Kashmir," Mr Rathore said.

He said the merger of Gilgit and Baltistan with Pakistan would also mean losing eight lakh voters in case a UN-mandated plebiscite was finally held to determine the future of the state.

He appealed to all other political leaders in Azad Kashmir would oppose the merger scheme.

Mr Rathore intended to invite all Kashmiri political leaders to a conference in order to discuss the matter, as well as the situation in held Kashmir. He also expressed his willingness to attend such a conference if it was organized by some other parties.

Replying to a question, the former Azad Kashmir Premier said it was his national duty to inform the people about this scheme because there was no ambiguity that

Gilgit and Baltistan formed an integral part of Jammu and Kashmir state. He also released some documents in this regard.

Tension Over Kashmir Seen Leading to War

92AS0243F Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 30 Oct 91 pp 10-11

[Article by Air Maershal Ayaz Ahmed Khan: "Edging Towards War Over"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Muchkund Dubey, India's foreign secretary, who is scheduled to visit Pakistan in the last week of October to meet foreign secretary Shaharyar Khan, has very recently said that Indo-Pak relations continue to be tense. He said that Kashmir was the cause of continued tension between the two countries. In his statement made to the foreign media on October 11, the Indian foreign secretary stressed that Kashmir was the most single important factor for intensified tension between the two countries. He was emphatic that, "nothing much has improved between the two countries because of the Kashmir problem. Pakistan has not taken any step until now, which will point towards the normalization of relations between the two countries. Then internationally Pakistan has stepped up its efforts to internationalize the Kashmir issue. Besides unless Pakistan stops aiding and training 'militants' in Kashmir there can be no discussion on the Jammu and Kashmir dispute". Muchkund Dubey also termed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's proposal on Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT] as "hypocrisy".

Madhavsingh Solanki, India's foreign minister, last month in similar terms had condemned Pakistan's attempts to raise the Kashmir issue at the NAM [Non-aligned Movement] meeting at Accra, on three different agenda items during the meeting. During September 1991 while condemning Pakistan's policy, Indian military was ordered to crush Kashmiri 'militancy' in Rainwari militant fortress, and punish the population of Uri, Kupwara, Sopore, Pattan, Keran and Bandipore, which are the centers of the Kashmiri resistance against Indian terrorism. Embarked on carnage and massacres, including rapes, in occupied Kashmir, the Congress-I government has succeeded in subduing Pakistan politically and diplomatically over the Kashmir issue. Kashmir was not on the agenda of the Commonwealth conference at Harare, to the utter disappointment of the Pakistani and Kashmiri people. In contrast to the extremely arrogant and insolent statements of Indian leaders on Indo-Pak relations, it is most astonishing to read the statements of our political and military leaders, reflecting high hope for good relations with India, in spite of Indian genocide in Jammu and Kashmir. Indian intransigence and rejection of UN Charter and UN resolutions to enable the people of Jammu and Kashmir to determine their own future; and continued insistence that Kashmir, is an integral part of India; is enough reason for Pakistan to adopt a firm policy, and reject illegal Indian annexation of the disputed state of Jammu

and Kashmir. The people of South Asia well know that Kashmir is a fundamental issue and this festering dispute unless quickly resolved could lead to another war between India and Pakistan. This problem has to be viewed in the light of historic, ethno-religious, economic, cultural, political and military dimensions.

Religion and Hindu economic exploitation being the basis of partition of India, the 82 percent Muslim majority state of Jammu and Kashmir should have been a part of Pakistan, when the division of India took place in August 1947. The unnatural illegal, and conspiratorial annexation and forced integration is the basis of conflict and armed freedom struggle within occupied Kashmir, and the cause of the unending dispute and wars with Pakistan. Of the three major wars between India and Pakistan two (1948-49 and 1965) were due to the Kashmir dispute. The war of 1971 was indirectly due to the Kashmir dispute, because had it been solved, other minor differences would have fallen into place. The long cold war and the unending freeze in Indo-Pak relations is because of the continuing Kashmir dispute. The arms race and maintenance of huge armies by India and Pakistan is because of the Kashmir dispute. If Kashmir problem is solved, there would be no requirement for keeping and maintaining such huge military establishments by the two poverty stricken neighbors. The nuclear weapons race, the policy of nuclear ambiguity by both the countries is due to the unsettled Jammu and Kashmir dispute. India's refusal to sign the NPT, and Pakistan's hesitancy to sign the NPT unilaterally is due to the Kashmir dispute. So the only real problem between the two South Asian neighbors, which could explode into another war is the disputed state of Jammu and Kashmir. There is no other problem which could not be settled without war. The problem of Kashmir if not settled will surely lead to another war.

India has always maintained a substantial military force in the occupied Kashmir thereby creating an extremely serious strategic threat for Pakistan. After the January 1949 ceasefire India moved three army divisions in Jammu and Kashmir in gross violation of the UN Security Council Resolution, which demands removal of the bulk of Indian troops from the territory of the occupied state. In open violation of the UNCIP [UN Commission for India and Pakistan] resolutions, No 26 division was deployed in Jammu, No 25 in Rajouri, and No 19 in Srinagar.

Srinagar and Avantipur military airfields were developed in the Kashmir valley and Leh in Ladakh for deploying several squadrons of Hunter and Gnat fighter bombers. Soon after the 1965 war No 10 Indian Army division was emplaced in Chamb-Akhnoor and the 3rd Infantry division was moved to Ladakh and Kargil areas. Indian military build-up in Jammu and Kashmir in total disregard of UN resolutions had two aims, to silence and subdue the people of Jammu and Kashmir; and to intimidate Pakistan into inaction over its efforts for a just solution i.e. a plebiscite in the state as required by the UNCIP resolutions. This Indian military strategy

worked. The people of Kashmir were somewhat awed by India's massive military presence. New Delhi and its puppets in Jammu and Kashmir embarked on ignoble economic, political, social, educational, cultural, and religious policies, to justify that Kashmir was an inalienable part of Bharat. With Indian bayonets pointed against the chest of the peace-loving Kashmiris, India embarked on a policy of loot and plunder, disallowing even a whimper of protest. With massive moral, economic and political corruption rampant under Indian bayonets, the would inflicted on the psyche of the Kashmiris, started festering and exploded into an armed revolt in 1988-89.

Pakistan was intimidated by the Indian military might in Jammu and Kashmir, and appeared largely reconciled to Indian high-handedness and out-right rejection of its commitments to hold a plebiscite in the state. Between 1966 and 1989 India tightened its military grip over the disputed state, which Quaid-i-Azam had called "the jugular vein of Pakistan". Embroiled in political chaos between 1966 to 1971, and the trauma of defeat between 1972 to 1989, successive governments in Islamabad gave in to the Indian diktat over Jammu and Kashmir. No Pakistani government dared to challenge the ruthless Bharti stranglehold over Jammu and Kashmir; which in effect was tight Indian grip on Pakistan's neck. But the festering wounds inflicted by India on the people of Kashmir has started bleeding profusely; and in spite of Pakistan's painful and shameful policy of cowardice and inaction, the people of Kashmir rose in armed revolt on January 20, 1990, against Indian perfidy and atrocities, determined to break the chains of Indian slavery. During the last 21 months 28,000 valiant Kashmiris have embraced martyrdom for Islam and for liberty. Pakistan flags have been widely used as coffins to bury their sons and daughters, fathers and mothers by the great freedom fighters in Jammu and Kashmir. With India on the rampage to beat the people of Kashmir into submission and silence, the world is witnessing an unprecedented carnage of Muslim people without much remorse. The Islamic world disunited and helpless is unconcerned over the brutal genocide of Kashmiri Muslims by India. The OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference] did pass a resolution, but has not followed it up to ensure that the carnage in Kashmir is brought to an end. The passiveness of Pakistan and other Islamic countries is indicative of the absence of political and military will in all Islamic countries, to pursue their national or the collective interests with courage or vigor. The sorry state of the Ummah has emboldened India to exterminate the people of Kashmir in its bid to maintain its stranglehold on the strategically and militarily precious territory of Kashmir. New Delhi sensing Pakistan's passivity, has become increasingly rigid and intransigent, and has firmly embarked on its policy of state terrorism to kill, rape and burn the men and women of Kashmir, while waving a red flag to Pakistan to come and get Kashmir on the battlefield. Pakistan's spineless leadership has other priorities, and Jammu and Kashmir is not one of them. Sincerity of purpose requires that the nation be

prepared seriously to face the Indian consequences through a determined and bold policy to save the people of Kashmir from Indian brutalities and possible extermination.

According to Sunday Magazine India, the troop strength in occupied Kashmir has been doubled since January 1990. While No 29 Division was moved from Kangra to Jammu; No's 8 Mountain from Nagaland, 57th Infantry Div from Mizoram, and 20 Infantry from NE Agency were rushed into the valley to crush the freedom struggle. Besides all the Indian army divisions in held Kashmir have been made reinforced by adding 18,000 additional troops to each division. Thus each of the 10 Indian Army divisions in the held state has a strength of the regular Indian army in Jammu and Kashmir today is 330,000 troops.

With 150,000 BSF [Border Security Force] and CRPF [Central Reserve Police Force] the total military strength is about half-a-million. What can the 8 to 10 thousand freedom fighters in do to stop the onslaught and carnage of such a massive army, whose brutality is unprecedented and has the color and tone of Hindu communalism and extremism.

The passive and defeatist statements of the government and the foreign office, apologetic in tone, have stoked Indian vengefulness against the helpless Kashmiri people. While the massive assembly of forces in the Occupied state is a serious threat to the survival of the Kashmiri race, it also poses an extremely serious threat to Pakistan's national security and sovereignty. Indian vindictiveness and ruthlessness cannot be appeased by empty diplomacy. Diplomacy has to be backed by unity and strength. The politicians in power and those in opposition have taken the country for ride by infighting, confrontation and loot. Our foreign policy is a total failure. As New Delhi builds bridges with Washington and Beijing, Pakistan is becoming increasingly isolated and irrelevant in the New World Order. The sacrifices of the Kashmiri people are going waste, because Islamabad has failed to convince world capitals that India is on a policy of genocide and war.

Gross human rights violations by India in Jammu and Kashmir are being condoned by the world, including the Islamic countries, while the heroic fight of the Kashmiri people for freedom is being successfully projected by India as state sponsored terrorism. As the politicians refuse to understand that Jammu and Kashmir is an inalienable part of Pakistan, and without Kashmir, Pakistan is incomplete; they in effect are giving in to illegitimate Indian claims over Kashmir. One must appeal to the Pakistani leaders and the people to comprehend and realize Indian motives and massive threat to the life and honor of the Kashmiri people and the sovereignty if India is allowed to main and prolong its iron grip on Kashmir. It increasingly appears that war is the only alternative to rid Kashmir of a ruthless foreign occupier. The Pakistani nation and the people of Jammu and

Kashmir must be prepared to face Indian challenge and not give up Kashmir without a fight.

Calls Rise for Deportation of Bangladeshis

92AS0242G Karachi DAWN in English 1 Nov 91 p 7

[Text] Karachi—The concentration of Bengalis in Karachi, especially in Orangi and Landhi and in the area known as Bengali Para has got a fillip following the activities of a recently-posted senior diplomat of Bangladesh in Karachi. The Bengalis have started organising themselves into a compact body. They now number well over seven lakh and at the coaxing of this diplomat have started arraying themselves against law-enforcement agencies.

These Bengalis have been coming to Karachi since 1974 and have been shielded by the police and contractors who have profited by their influx; but have not become a problem for the police. They have been organising themselves into a well-knit force and have clashed with police at several occasions. Since then the contractors who used to employ them as unskilled workers for providing bulk labour to the industrialists have helped them earn their livelihood. These contractors have been in hands and gloves with the industrialists who have circumvented government minimum wages by employing this labour-contract basis paying much less than the legal minimum wage.

Side by side the touts have coaxed Bengali women and girls into prostitution.

Not only Bengali people are swarming the city but a large number of Burmese who actually are the Bengalis who were forced to migrate to Burma long time ago have also taken residence through dubious means. With organised efforts they have transformed themselves into a political entity and a movement on the pattern of Muhajir Qaumi Movement. It is a general belief that such a mobilisation would further aggravate the problem of law and order.

The illegal activities of the diplomat are an affront to Pakistan.

It is alleged that the senior diplomat is organising them on the plea that if they organise themselves nobody would be able to touch them and they will earn all their rights citizens of Pakistan. [sentence as published]

It is time the authorities take steps and frustrate all efforts of these Bengalis.

Meanwhile, the stranded Pakistanis in Bangladesh or in other words more Bengalis are converging on to Pakistan adding to Pakistan's economic and social problems. It is, therefore, important that Bengalis are deported before it becomes a menace.

These Bengalis, it is alleged also, are involved in thefts, dacoities and number of other anti-social activities and have thrived with the help provided by the police and law enforcement agencies.

Trafficking of Bangladeshi Women Continues Unabated

92AS0242F Karachi DAWN in English 2 Nov 91 p 13

[Text] Karachi, 1 Nov—In search of a better life they left their homes, covered two thousand miles and ended up either in prisons, brothels or sold to individuals as virtual slaves in Pakistan.

With little alternation this is the story of almost every Bengali woman coming to Pakistan. She was either lured by someone with promises of respectable and decent living in Pakistan or for a suitable Bengali match from Pakistan.

According to a survey conducted by the National Council for Social Welfare approximately 100-150 Bengali women are brought to Pakistan every month and sold in different parts of the country.

Flesh trade is fairly widespread and not confined to big cities only. There has been growing instances of Bengali women escaping from places like Badin, Bahawalpur, Sinjhor, Jacobabad and even Turbat.

Estimated number of Bengali women destitutes is around 20,000. Of whom, according to unofficial sources, 1400 are languishing in various Pakistani prisons, ostensibly for entering the country illegally.

There is no denying the fact that most of the unfortunate women are forced to take up prostitution apparently as a way of avoiding imprisonment. There is also a considerable number of those who end up as servants and those who toil at factories in urban areas for one third of the normal wages and live under constant fear of being caught for illegal stay or arrested under Hudood Ordinance.

Those who have been recovered from various dens of Karachi and booked under Hudood Ordinance and even those sold to individuals, term their sale a marriage and not prostitution.

About women in jail, activist Nausheen Ahmed says, "most of them do not wish to return to their home country as they would be socially restricted there."

She, however, suggests that an inter-governmental committee should be formed to resolve the issue and those willing to go back must be repatriated.

One arrives to a dead end. Can they be repatriated?

Bangladesh Consulate sources maintain that it is a time consuming process.

"We have to scrutinise each and every case prior to the issuance of required documents and every illegal Bengali immigrant cannot necessarily be a Bangladeshi," the sources said.

However, they said so far 300 illegal immigrants mostly women and children were deported and Pakistani Government has been requested for details about those jailed in various parts of the country.

The Home Department sources told APP that women, even after being tried and sentenced, prefer not to be released while awaiting to be deported. "They have become a liability for us," the sources added.

Those interviewed at Apna Ghar (Edhi Centre) have a different story to tell. They are the women who explain that families with their meagre sources would not welcome them back and consider them additional mouth to feed. Young girls are even unaware of their families whereabouts.

Shehnaz, 12, brought to the Centre by a Pakistani woman a few years back says, "I would stay in this very home and serve the destitutes as Maulana (Edhi) does."

According to Edhi sources details of many of the Bengali destitutes were published in Bangladeshi newspapers but as many of them mentioned wrong addresses, moreover, their relatives were also illiterate thus their origin could not be determined.

Tragedy of these women is that having eventually freed, they are very often captured and enslaved again.

Mr. Irfanullah Marwat, adviser to the chief minister, Sindh, on an occasion said law-enforcing agencies were not involved in this illegal business. "It may be an individual act and is not a collective action," he added.

Activist Nausheen Ahmed maintains that Pakistani law presently concentrates on apprehending the illegal immigrants.

She said SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] Court for Human Rights be set up to deal with causes involving international trafficking of women, children and drugs.

Both Pakistan and Bangladesh have ratified the 1957 Supplementary Convention on abolition of slavery, the slave trade, and practices similar to slavery.

Internal Affairs

Conflict Between Balochis, Pakhtuns Analyzed

92AS0243I Lahore THE NATION in English
24 Oct 91 p 5

[Article by Azizud Din Ahmed: "The Roots of Baloch-Pakhtun Conflict"]

[Text] The recent unfortunate clashes in Balochistan between the Baloch and Pakhtun communities, living peacefully together since ages, add a new dimension to the already explosive ethnic question in Pakistan. Instead of resorting to clinches and facile explanations based on them, the roots of the contradiction will have to

be explored dispassionately if we want to control this latest addition to the fires of ethnic violence that tend to engulf the country.

It was for instance fashionable in the past to ascribe most of our own failures in developing social cohesion to the machinations of Russians and their agents. As the Russians did not like Pakistan to emerge as a strong Muslim state, the argument went, all the movements for provincial autonomy and ethnic rights were inspired by them. They made one ethnic group fight the other in order to destabilize Pakistan. This explanation would satisfy few today, nor would it help in resolving the problem. Soviet Union lies prostrate, hardly able to maintain its own cohesion and incapable of fanning regional struggles abroad while ethnic strife continues in many countries of the world including Pakistan.

Basically our ethnic problems are the result of mismanagement by our own regimes. Genuine grievances, resolvable at initial stages were allowed to remain unaddressed till they assumed momentous proportions and went out of control. The regimes, particularly the military regimes, did even worse. They used sensitive government agencies to create, aid and abet chauvinistic organizations and armed fascist bands in order to perpetuate their rule by making one group fight another, thus splitting democratic movements which aimed at ending dictatorial rule. More often than not these organizations would go out of control of their own creators.

The present Baloch Pakhtun contradiction is partly the result of the gross neglect of the province by succeeding Federal Governments and partly the consequence of a conscious policy adopted by some of them to divide the two communities in order to achieve narrow political ends.

The neglect of the province by succeeding Federal Governments has resulted in abysmal social backwardness. Facilities for socio-economic development are few and far between and communities compete and quarrel among themselves in order to acquire them. There is competition for the few jobs that are available in government offices an industry is almost non-existent. There is competition for admissions to educational institutions. Both communities want new professional and technical schools and colleges for their own area. The recent move of ethnic violence owes its origin to the dispute over the location of an Agricultural college financed by the European Community. The Balochis want it in their area and the Pakhtuns in their area. There are rival claims for new hospitals, for roads and potable water facilities. The scarcity of all these sharpens the competition.

The 1981 Census Report sheds some light on the paucity of the much sought after social amenities. It tells us that literacy rate in 13 districts of Balochistan out of the total 16 at that time was less than 10 percent. Total number of industrial units of all categories was 45 (Attock district, one of the under-developed districts of Punjab had

double that number of industrial units). At least one district had no metalled road, while another had no government hospital.

Total number of telephone connections in the whole province was less than ten thousand, over half of them located in the city of Quetta alone. Sui gas supplied to the whole of Pakistan was not provided to any city of Balochistan except Quetta where it was available to only 10 percent of the population. In eleven districts of the province less than 10 percent of the population enjoyed the luxury of an electric connection. There were only two cities where more than half the population could get piped water. Where did all the development money mentioned in budget documents of the Federal Government disappear than? Throughout the Zia period huge chunks of such money were used to buy influential people, either directly or through the award of contracts for the construction of roads and buildings that would often prove to be either non-existent or totally substandard, the money appropriated by the influentials as price for support to the dictator. The practice was by no means totally non-existent during the early period. Resources allotted to Balochistan have in the first place been incommensurate with its needs, in the second place they have been often wasted to achieve narrow political ends rather than being utilized for social development. In order to build Pakistan as a harmonious federation more money should have been spent to bring a lesser developed unit at par with the rest of the country. Niggardly treatment meted out to it and the way the meager development funds allotted to it were utilized has led to the inter-provincial as well as the intra-provincial discord that we are witnessing today.

A major source of discord among Baloch and Pakhtun is employment, particularly the employment in government departments. There are few private jobs in the province as little industrial development has taken place. Many industrial units have actually closed down over the last decade. The much trumpeted Hub industrial area, situated at the border between Karachi and Balochistan is practically an extension of the former as both the labor and the capital emanate from Karachi. The unemployed Balochi or Pakhtun from the province cannot hope to get a job here.

As private industry offers few jobs, people are forced to run after government service for gainful employment. Here, too socially backward Balochistan can offer few openings to all sorts of aspirants, educated as well as illiterate. Appointments are made by bureaucrats or politicians who are wither Balochis or Pakhtuns and they tend to favor their own communities. Ethnicity thus becomes an important factor. Had there been more jobs in the province the problem would not have been that serious. Or if there had been only one major ethnic group in the province, as is the case in Punjab, the situation would not have taken an ethnic turn.

Business is expanding in Balochistan, albeit at snail's pace. Besides government jobs it is the other source of

livelihood for people. Again the socially retarded province presents only a few business opportunities for which competition between the two communities becomes stiff. The Pakhtuns, with business in their blood, enjoyed monopoly over it till recently. They traded right inside the Baloch heartland. With the passage of time the Balochis have also developed a fledgling trading class which is now competing with their Pakhtun counterparts. As the consumer market is limited, due to retarded social development resulting in reduced purchasing power, the competition becomes tough and ethnic tensions are exacerbated.

Transport is another form of business which had been a Pakhtun monopoly till recently. A number of small Balochi entrepreneurs now have entered this field also, sharpening the edge of the already existing business rivalry between the two communities. There is a tough competition for the busy Quetta-Karachi route, both trying to monopolize the lucrative business here. As the road passes through the Baloch territory, they have an edge over their rivals. It is not without reasons, therefore, that bloody clashes have taken place between transporters belonging to the two communities over the last few years, leading once to imposition of curfew in Quetta.

Balochistan is a multi-ethnic province, the overwhelming majority belonging either to Baloch or Pakhtun communities. Of these two the Baloch have been the major community. As they get more seats in the Provincial Assembly on the basis of their population, the Chief Minister is normally a Baloch. Of the ten Chief Ministers of Balochistan from 1972 to 1991, only one has been a Pakhtun. This has caused a lot of heart burning among the Pakhtuns who think they are being discriminated against in jobs and development facilities because the provincial Chief Executive continues to come from the rival ethnic group. The arrival of the Afghan refugees and the assimilation of large number of them in the local population has affected the ethnic balance and claims are being made by Pakhtuns that Balochis are no more in majority. It is interesting to note that while both the Baloch and the Pakhtuns nationalists whole heartedly supported the Afghan revolution, they differed in their attitude towards Afghan Muhajirs. The Balochis demanded their return to Afghanistan while the Pakhtuns claimed they had a right to stay among their brethren in Balochistan.

Another source of friction among the two communities are rival claims about certain areas in the province. Pakhtuns assert that the city of Quetta, regarded by the Balochis as their ancestral abode has actually been the city of Pakhtuns for centuries. So is the area known as Bolan. These claims hurt the sensibilities of the Balochi nationalists who regard these as an expression of Pakhtun expansionism.

The Pakhtun community in Balochistan is financially much better off than their rivals. There is a tendency among them to utilize their financial resources on

acquiring land. More and more Pakhtun families from rural areas are settling down in the urban centers. In Quetta particularly the number of Pakhtuns is increasing at great speed, and if the trend continues over a few more years, Quetta will become an overwhelmingly Pakhtun city. This is another cause of friction between the two ethnic groups.

The long term solution of the ethnic tangle in Balochistan is the division of the province in two parts, the Balochis and the Pakhtuns having two separate provinces and administrative set-ups. The Pakhtun part might as well as amalgamated with the present NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and the larger province thus created given a new name. The Baloch and Pakhtun population is already pretty neatly segregated and a line can be drawn on the map requiring no shift of population from one place to another. Quetta will pose the only problem where the two mix and mingle with each other. The city could be declared a common capital till the historians and legal experts decide the rival claims to ownership. Unless the province is divided the friction will continue to increase, leading to a situation where reconciliation would become difficult.

The long term solution is not enough and immediate steps are required to reduce inter-ethnic tension in the province. Balochistan deserves more funds than it has got in the past. Step-motherly treatment meted out to it since the creation of the country must end. It is a matter of shame that at the time of the preparation of the last census thirty-four years after the creation of Pakistan, there was a district not possessing an inch of metalled road while another did not possess a single hospital. Claims that Sardars did not allow the construction of roads deserves little serious attention. The Federal Government has annexed states run by mighty Nawabs, far more powerful than any Sardar in the province, even deposed and then detained them when they did not oblige. Roads have been built in unruly tribal areas with the use of force whenever the Federal Government has felt it was necessary to do so. On the other hand the whole Mekran belt where virtually no Sardari system exists and people want roads badly lacks the facility.

The problems faced by both the Baloch and the Pakhtun community are basically the result of allowing Balochistan to remain extremely undeveloped. If there are more roads, schools and hospitals, along with industrial investment leading to increased purchasing power the inter-ethnic tension would reduce even if it did not totally disappear.

Where will the money to support the economic cum social uplift plan come from? The government has not option other than cutting the abnormal non-development expenditure that is responsible for the deteriorating social conditions all over the country. Can we defend a country with the help of army alone when the population remains dissatisfied and disunited? Can an undernourished and illiterate population, fighting among itself for acquiring social amenities that are

insufficient because most of the budget is channelled to non-productive activities, enthusiastically help repelling foreign aggression? A satisfied citizen is more patriotic than a dissatisfied one. Let more money be channelled to social development particularly in smaller provinces where the pinch is most badly felt and people will be more united and satisfied, making Pakistan a much stronger country than it is at present.

And no more mechanizations on the part of the various sections of ruling elite to divide people on ethnic basis in order to prolong their stay in power. The untraced murders of Abdus Samad Achakzai and the Kansi Sardar are examples of efforts by the vested interest to sow seeds of dissension between the Baloch and the Pakhtun communities.

Analysts View Volatility of Sindh Situation

Change in Policy Needed

92AS0246A Karachi DAWN in English 2 Nov 91 p 15

[Article by Mahmood Zaman: "Frank Discussion on Sindh Situation"]

[Text] Lahore: Even an angry young man, who had over a dozen arguments to show disenchantment over the policies of the Federation in (mis)handling the Sindh question and able to find faults with the 1973 Constitution, agreed in the final analysis that his future is secure in Pakistan rather than in a separate state.

His eloquence during a discussion at the recently-concluded workshop of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan [HRCP] at Hyderabad was convincing. But he appeared to be unclear when he talked of rights taken away, options fast diminishing, democracy that had been diluted and the constitution not coming to the help of all the three provinces—the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province], Balochistan and Sindh—put together against the 'hegemony' of the Punjab.

The HRCP workshops at Hyderabad (11-17 October) was very educative as its participants, coming from rural Sindh to represent students, teachers, human rights activists and political workers, were not only frank in arguing their case on Sindh but also appeared to be keen to see an immediate resolution of the "great divide" in the province that is now about a decade old.

They desire rather beseech, an early solution, but appear to be disillusioned by Islamabad's lack of statemanship and political will to remedy the wrongs.

The growing sense of alienation, particularly in rural Sindh, has brought the centres of political power closer and there appears to be a complete unity of thought and action. Very recently the calls for strikes and "payya jam," even by small factions and splinter groups of hardline parties, have been to total success.

The decade-long ethnic and cultural divide has seen many phases. The 1983 riots were followed by the Pucca Qila operation and continued to add to the agony of Sindhis at the time of formation of the provincial government after the 1990 polls. And now with the induction of Mr. Tariq Javed as the acting Chief Minister, the divide has not narrowed, if not further widened. The wounds are deep and can be cured only if genuine efforts are made to put things on the right path.

The Pucca Qila operation, in particular, has left a deep scar on the ethnically divided city of Hyderabad. It has uprooted about 4,000 families who had been settled around the Qila vicinity for several decades. Their houses and shops have been damaged and looted and they have been made to shift to temporary camps. But the authorities appear to have forgotten the assurances they had made for their settlement and compensation for their material losses.

The Sindhis in these camps have woeful tales to tell. Even the Mohajirs in Hyderabad are not too happy over the incidents. Even the Mayor cannot sit in his Baldia Office without the help of his armed (mostly with Kalashnikovs) bodyguards. A few attempts on his life in the past had already made him jittery.

The presence of the Pakistan Rangers, who have set up posts and pickets at all City crossings and the entry and exit points, is also a matter of frustration for the 1.5 million population of Hyderabad. Stopping of cars and rickshaws every half a kilometre and body search by the Rangers are extremely humiliating for them.

The Sindhis have a complaint against their brethren in the Punjab in particular. "You did not raise a voice of protest when excesses were committed on us by the Centre. You showed a total indifference: How can you then expect us to support your cause of the Federation," was what majority of the participants in the HRCP workshop said to me.

But at the same time they agreed that Punjab is "misinformed" about Sindh and its people. They conceded that not even 5 percent of the events in Sindh were being reported in the Press in the Punjab. They also agree to the argument that the Punjabis too have been subjected to political exploitation, that they too not enjoy the rights that they should enjoy, that the poor in the Punjab is no different from that in Sindh or elsewhere in Pakistan that those in power do not represent the Punjab, and finally, the people as a class should fight the ruling class for their rights.

One thing the Sindhis vehemently deny is that there is a secessionist move in Sindh. Most of them in rural Sindh have the highest regard for the grand old man, the 89-year G.M. Syed, for his commitment to the cause of his own people, yet they disagree with his philosophy of separatism. "Sain G.M. has about 2,000 hard core people with him, yet he has not been able to win any election, not even from his home town, rather the political party supporting the Federationist cause has

won overwhelmingly," was what a teacher in Jamshoro University said to me in his view, the forces inimical to Pakistan have been propagating against the people of Sindh, to malign and brand the Sindhis as separatists and thus earn them the enmity of the largest province of the country.

Nevertheless, undiluted democracy, honouring the people's mandate and right on resources, have been forcefully advanced as a way out of the impasse. The withdrawal of Rangers was also put forth as a strong demand. General feelings of the Sindhi youth were that in an ethnically divided province the mandate of the people was not only not honoured, rather attempts were made to make the political process a mockery. At the time of the government formation a number of excesses were committed against those who had been returned to the Provincial Assembly. The Jam-Altaf coalition, as maintained by another senior University teacher, had played havoc with Sindhis who were being rendered a minority in their own province. He had details of ratio of jobs given to particular ethnic groups during the past one year or so to present his cause that the number of Sindhis securing jobs in various government and semi-government departments was extremely low and spoke volumes of ignoring the proportion of population.

"This has added to our frustration," was his reaction to the ascendance of Mr. Tariq Javed to the post of acting Chief Minister.

One group of Sindhi students and teachers spoke about the "anomaly" of the 1973 Constitution. Their plea was that the unavoidable majority of the Punjab population gets its number of legislators in the National Assembly which exceeds that of the three other provinces' representatives put together. As a result the possibility exists that the opinion of the three provinces can be outvoted and no legislation favouring the NWFP, Balochistan and Sindh can be made.

But they have a solution to the "anomalous" situation: Provincial autonomy under a formula, on which majority of the political parties agree and under which four subjects—defence, foreign affairs, currency and communications—will be with the Centre and all other powers will be vested in the provinces.

The charge conditions of Sindh call for exemplary statesmanship, even-handed approach and a mature political behaviour on the part of the Federal Government. Though most of Sindhi intellectuals believe that the best period of a patch-up of the ethnic and cultural divide is already over, they also think that a faithful attempt can even now settle disputes.

However, to the nation's dismay no such attempts are visible, though it would be wrong to say that nothing is happening on that front. A senior journalist in Hyderabad told me that a team from Islamabad, including two Ministers (one of whom is supposed to be in the kitchen cabinet) had two meetings with certain small but influential factions of political parties and intellectuals from

interior of Sindh. The issue was how normalcy can return to the divided province.

The government team pleaded with the Sindh groups that they should create a formidable middle class between the landlords and the poor population as neither the feudals nor the so-far-trusted middle class had delivered the goods.

In return the government offered a substantial industrial expansion and other infrastructure to benefit the rural population. The wisdom in the Islamabad offer was that the class of politically influential groups would be able to achieve results which had not been secured by the urban middle class. It thought that if their aim was achieved it would rid them of those whose demands had now become intolerable and difficult to meet. As such a shift in the priorities surfaced for the first time during the past one year.

The first meeting, during which the offers were made and other details sorted out, was followed by another. But to the dismay of Islamabad the offer was not acceptable on grounds that it again negated the mandate and no mention was made about the Sindhis enjoying their right over their own resources.

The meetings, it goes without saying, ended in a fiasco, but it sounds as if the Islamabad authorities intend to continue with the hitherto adhered policies unchanged. This is unfortunate and deepens the apprehension that no sincere attempt is in the offing and not for a long time to come a formula that will heal the wounds of Sindh and let the "land of love spread by Bhitai and Sachal Sarmast" return to normalcy.

Could Result in Partition

92AS0246B Lahore THE NATION in English
27 Oct 91 p 5

[Article by Husain Naqi: "Not Merely a Question of Playing the Sindh Card"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] A few days back when Ms. Benazir Bhutto stated that a situation similar to the then (1971) East Pakistan was developing in Sindh, one took it as an exaggerated description of political scenario in the southern province. The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] boss, and the Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly, has so often been accused of using the 'Sindh card,' for what her adversaries call 'political blackmail' that many of us took her observations about her home province with a pinch of salt. For one who did not visit any city of Sindh, other than Karachi, for about a quarter century, it was unpalatable despite all that had happened over the decades and particularly in the 80's. But a just concluded visit to Hyderabad and some parts of the interior around, during a week long stay made one take the PPP leader's perception of the Sindh situation seriously and to make an on-the-spot assessment for one's seriously

and to make an on the spot assessment for one's own enlightenment and for sharing the same with the readers at large.

It would be over simplifying the issue to offer an evaluation merely based on the present state of affairs in Sindh. That would be a superficial effort. It would not enable us to draw correct conclusions. One would also not burden himself, or the readers, with recapitulating the ancient history. It would be worthwhile to limit ourselves to the issues and problems emerging in the post independence period wherein lay the roots of the present trouble whose domineering aspect was the visible 'ethnic' divide between the Sindhi speaking and Urdu speaking (who include the non-Sindhi speaking people in so far as the interior part of the province including Hyderabad was concerned) populace.

The establishment of Pakistan, as we all knew, took place in the accordance with 3 June 1947 partition plan which conceded the partitioning of both Bengal and Punjab and was preceded and followed with serious communal clashes between Hindus and Sikhs on one side and the Muslim throughout the length and breadth of British India. The worst of these were in the divided Punjab. The selection of the Sindh capital, Karachi, as the Federal capital (after the then Punjab Government refused to accommodate Pakistan's federal capital within its territory) and the city being the only sea port for the western wing, brought an influx of refugees to Sindh. One more factor which contributed to the onflow of Muslims from India to the Sindh Province and its capital was the comparative safe passage through Sindh's entry points than those in the Punjab. While the influx of refugees in Punjab of Pakistan and vice versa was mainly of the people speaking the dialects of the same language, that of the refugees into Sindh was mainly of Urdu speaking people. Again, unlike in Punjab, where the Muslims read and wrote Urdu and did not use Punjabi as medium of instruction, in Sindh the Sindhi language was already in use as medium of instruction up to the secondary level. In the early years of Pakistan, Sindhi language continued to be medium of instruction for Sindhi speaking people and was even taught as 'second form' where the medium of instruction was chosen to be Urdu. The practice continued even after the establishment of One Unit in the then West Pakistan. But the advent of first military rule in the country saw the end of use of Sindhi as medium of instruction even at the primary level in Sindh (a cynical decision that could only be reverted after the dismemberment of the country and under the first term of PPP rule). On the economic scene the Sindhi Muslims being primarily engaged in farming or in various provincial and local services, in fewer numbers compared to the Hindus (who mostly migrated to India), the refugee Muslims occupied both the majority of jobs as well as replaced the Hindus in business and commerce. In the interior, however, the Hindus shared the opportunities in trade and commerce. "The moneyed Muslims belonging to feudal aristocracy also did not switch over to industry and commerce as

their feudal states remained secure and untouched. The two installments of land reforms (by Ayub and Bhutto) had enough loopholes to let the feudal slip out of the net merely by fake changes in revenue records. Even to this date few feudals, who could be counted on finger tips, have installed any industry except for rice and ginning factories and a couple of sugar mills. Quite a few industrial undertakings being, run by others were, in fact, sanctioned to Sindhis feudal lords. They uncashed their licenses and the practice continued to this date. At the same time they had enough opportunity to shout: wolf as the newly developed farm lands from barrages and canals were distributed amongst civil and military personnel besides those getting displaced from their lands due to works under Indus Basin Treaty. After partition, the lands and houses belonging to Hindus who migrated to India were handed over the refugees of both settled and unsettled areas without any share having been offered to landless Sindhi farmers.

Till the ascent to power of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (later executed), on the one hand the grievances of various strata of Sindhi speaking people had been multiplying and were getting piled up and on the other bureaucratic and arbitrary 'solution' including the colonial divide and rule prescriptions like 'Mohajir, Punjabi, Pathan Mohaz' were being tried to subdue the emerging yet weaker middle class of the Sindhi speaking people. This was more credibly exploited by the Sindhi speaking feudal to further their vested interest. The more rabid a feudal the most irrepressible champion of 'Sindh's cause' he pretended to be. The Sindhi feudal, like the Sardars and Khans, were a safe bet for the bureaucratic elite and the army top brass, who injected doses after doses of dictatorial rule. The Generals invariably depended on the feudal for lengthening their misrule. It was no wonder then that the worst or country's dictators demonstrated utmost respect for most archaic feudal like Mr. G.M. Syed. Had General Zia not perished in an air crash, one could guess that he would have ruled the country for a few more years if not many with their assistance and cooperation both direct and indirect.

The misfortune of the emerging Sindhi speaking middle classes was that instead of closing their ranks and dealing a death blow to feudal dominance, of one hue or the other, it was playing into the hands of the big and smaller feudal. It accepted their narrow, racist (even though Sindhi speaking people belonged to different race stocks) and fascistic nationalism. That was much in contrast to the then (1971) East Pakistan's middle class whose leadership was in the hands of middle class leaders. That was not the case with Sindhi speaking middle class even now when it had a wider base and included female youth as well. The Sindhi speaking females have advanced and loosened through not yet broken the feudal bond. That was the only silver lining, one could notice.

On the other side of the divide in Sindh, the Urdu speaking middle classes were also engaged in a fanatical assertion of their ethnic identity. It was farther from truth for the simple reason that the 'mohajirs' belonged

to different cultural and linguistic communities and were not a single ethnic identity. Their preponderance in Sindh capital and the second largest city, Hyderabad besides their two or three generation advantage in education business and commerce, etc. gave them an edge over native Sindhis. However, if they tried to misuse the same against the native Sindhis in order to turn it into a permanent handicap for the latter, (as seemed to be the situation at the moment) then it would opt for permanent strife and fratricide. The Sindhi speaking people were no 'Red Indians' and the 'mohajirs' no 'discoverer' of the 'adventures' in a newly discovered continent. Neither was Sindh the 'wild west.' It was the home to one of the most ancient civilisations and the gateway to India from the south-western side. It would do good to 'mohajirs' and Sindhis both and particularly those belonging to middle classes to shun the present siege mentality and enter into constructive and open dialogue on all issues and problems facing them both in the urban and rural Sindh. Both had a stake in the well-being of the province and the country they lived in. Neither of them could wipe out or enslave the other. They could not throw the other out, either. One was shocked to see that there was little communication amongst them except at the elite level. Also distressing was the fact that in urban areas, especially in Hyderabad, there had taken place a 'migration' of the two communities to their respective strongholds. Even in educational institutions there was ethnic segregation with both communities denying the other to continue their duties. Hospitals were also not spared from this despicable divide and even emergency cases were turned back. That's barbarism. Hundreds of thousands of man-hours were being wasted every day and development activity was reduced to the minimum. The state of Press, put into focus by recent incidents of armed violence against journalists, was worse in the interior. There, it started earlier with the killing of three newspaper men. It was a blatantly one sided Press which thrived on fanning ethnic and linguistic fanaticism and fratricide. Induction of arms and narcotics was destroying the youth further. As for the dacoits, it was a multidimensional phenomenon. There were traditional dacoits protected and fed by the feudal, the police and God knows whom! A new set of dacoits had emerged independent of them both. It comprised mostly the oppressed, violated, humiliated sons of the most oppressed peasantry on the one hand and the literate and educated ones who were either the political outlaws or malcontents. The latter two categories did not discriminate amongst their targeted victims on ethnic basis. They harassed small landowners and allottees and made demands on them. Those obliging were guaranteed security of themselves and their belonging including farms, gardens, produce, cattle as well as the haris and thief families, especially females. Those who refused to pay were terrorised and punished. All this called for a serious appreciation and deeper study of the problem and finding out solutions to them. It was a stupid naivete to regard problems besetting Sindh as law and order issues, to be managed through state violence by such lawless enactments as Terrorist Affected Areas (Special Courts)

Ordinance or sanctifying them under the despicable Twelfth Amendment to the vandalised by Eighth Amendment Constitution. Such laws, combined with other repressive measures would certainly provide an opportunity to all sorts of elements, both local and foreign to fish in our Sindhi's troubled waters. So, Ms. Benazir Bhutto was not totally off the mark when she referred to situation developing in Sindh similar to that in the then East Pakistan in 1971. The traumatic experience should enable us to pre-empt and not intensify the same.

Not Threatening Like Bangladesh

92AS0246C Lahore THE NATION in English 6 Nov 91
p 7

[Article by Fazal Qureshi: "Sindh Is Not Going the Way of East Pakistan"; italicized words as published]

[Text] It has been often said, and reiterated in an article in THE NATION of 27 October (Not merely a question of playing the Sindh Card), that the situation in Sindh is fast becoming, or has already become, similar to that in East Pakistan in 1971. This view has been lent credence by a recent statement of the Leader of the Opposition, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, that a situation similar to that in East Pakistan was developing in Sindh. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from the statement is that Sindh is also turning secessionist as East Pakistan once had.

That Sindh faces a grave law and order problem is acceptable. So is the contention that Sindh faces a serious ethnic problem. The people of Sindh, particularly those in the rural areas, also suffer from a widespread sense of deprivation. They complain of not getting their due shares in the economic development of the country, as also in the political power structure of the state. But it is going too far to say that the province of Sindh is treading the path tread by former East Pakistan.

The recent Jam Sadiq-MQM [Mujahir Qaumi Movement] alliance has shown how various ethnic communities in the province, particularly Sindhis and *mohajirs*, can live in peace and harmony and join hands to put an end to ethnic strife. The enemy has also failed to make a dent in the patriotism of the people of Sindh despite it being infested with foreign trained terrorists, saboteurs and agents provocateur. The failure of the supporters of Sindhu Desh to win any voter backing in the recent and earlier general elections is a sure proof of this. The people of Sindh have always voted for those parties, linguistic or national, whose allegiance to Pakistan is beyond doubt. G.M. Syed's political philosophy has found a very limited following in Sindh.

But the existence of these extremist elements, combined with substantial Hindu population in the interior of Sindh, does provide India with a tempting opportunity to meddle in the affairs of Sindh. Although there are Indian agents in other provinces of Pakistan also, including the Punjab, Sindh provides India's RAW [Research and Analysis Wing (Intelligence Agency)] a

fertile operating field. Reports have repeatedly appeared in the national Press about the infiltration of large numbers of RAW agents, with money, arms and subversive literature, into Sindh through the vast unguarded desert borderline of Tharparker and Cholistan. In addition, All India Radio has regular Sindhi language programmes with intense anti-Pakistan propaganda, almost inciting the people into rebellion. The recent tragic train mishaps at Sangi and Ghotki causing large-scale human and material losses, bomb blasts at crowded places in Karachi, Hyderabad and other towns of Sindh are the doings of these foreign agents. Another evidence becomes available in the form of mysterious motorcycle or car riders spraying a Kalashnikov bullets at people in bazaars, outside cinema houses, in trains, educational institutions, outside mosques and one religious processions to instigate ethnic and sectarian mob frenzy.

The cases in which dead bodies of kidnapped students or political workers are found brutally cut up or charred cannot be the work of any political or student body. They too are the work of agent provocateurs. There is no doubt that foreign subversion is a major threat in Sindh and all government agencies must beef up their resources to fight this menace with all their might.

In the context of foreign agents and saboteurs, the name of Al-Zulfikar Mr. Murtaza Bhutto and their mother, Begum Nusrat Bhutto, have repeatedly declared that the Al-Zulfikar Organisation has been disbanded and the use of the name Al-Zulfikar by the Sindh government now is merely a political ploy to give a bad name to the PPP [Pakistan People's Party].

This is a case in which both the PPP and the Sindh government may be right. The PPP has already suffered adverse political consequences through the ill-conceived guerilla ventures of AZO [Al-Zulfikar Organization] like the hijacking of a plane, murder of hostile political leaders in Pakistan and acts of sabotage in their unsuccessful bid to overthrow the government of the late General Muhammad Ziaul Haq. Therefore, while the declaration of the PPP disbanding the AZO may be accepted, the fact remains that with the dissolution of AZO, hundreds of well-trained terrorists have been rendered jobless. They are trained to do only one job, sabotage and terrorism. Now with their abandonment, the PPP may justifiably claim absolution from responsibility over their future actions, but that does not dissolve AZO terrorists into thin air. They are very much there in the field and offer a rich and ready harvest to foreign agencies. In that sense, as the government of Sindh continue their drive against terrorists and saboteurs they are bound to fish out people who were once associated with AZO and, therefore, we are going to hear this name for quite some time to come.

In addition to foreign-trained agents, many political analysts have also included dacoits and other criminals among politically motivated elements. A question has often been asked: Are the dacoits really guerrillas fighting an oppressive, unjust social and political

system? This view is lent credence by reports that Kalashnikov-totting criminals, while robbing banks, buses or trains, have been heart to shout, "Jiye Bhutto" or "Jiye Sindh" slogans. This leads many to believe that they are political activists or an extremist wing of Bhutto lovers. It is also common knowledge that dacoits equipped with deadly weapons did become involved in the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] movements against General Ziaul Haq in 1983 and 1986. They, hand in hand with other extremist elements and possibly foreign agents, did undertake acts of violence and sabotage during the MRD movement totally out of character with normal political agitation. In one political rally near Larkana in the 1983, MRD movement dacoits wearing *burqas* suddenly opened up Kalashnikov fire to kill 17 policemen in one ghastly incident. There were also attacks on military convoys and army camps, damaging of railway lines, burning of railway stations and other acts of organised terrorism. Similarly, in the 1986 MRD movement, about 18 railway stations were burnt in Sindh within a few days. This terrorist manifestation of the MRD movement in Sindh alarmed political elements in other parts of Pakistan, specially in the Punjab, who failed to respond to the call of MRD. Since MRD in Sindh meant mostly the PPP, the blame for this terrorism was placed on the doorsteps of the PPP, which also at that time sported Murtaza Bhutto's Al-Zulfikar Organisation.

There is another ground to suspect political involvement of dacoits in Sindh's politics. It is well-known that the *waderas* and *zamindars* of Sindh, practically all of them important politicians, mostly patronise gangs of dacoits whom they use for their own protection, and for taking revenge from their enemies. The dacoits need the sanctuary and political clout of politician *waderas* for eluding police and the law-enforcing agencies and for getting their release if arrested. In this way, dacoits and professional criminals often get mixed with political elements and often label themselves as "Sindhi patriots" struggling for the rights of the Sindhi people and against the enemies of Sindh, among whom they include *mohajirs*, Punjabis, the Armed Forces and even those Sindhi leaders known for their patriotic and national stance as opposed to the narrow parochialism of Sindhi nationalists. But for most part, these dacoits and criminals use the name and cover of the Jiye Bhutto or Jiye Sindh slogan merely to hoodwink the people and to gain the sympathies of the pro-PPP bureaucracy and politicians. Otherwise, when robbing a bus or a bank or kidnapping people for ransom, their goal is money and both Sindhis and non-Sindhis become their victims. They are not political guerrillas, because if they were, they would be engaged in anti-government operations seen in guerilla movements of other countries. Therefore, to claim that the dacoities and kidnappings for ransom in Sindh have political overtones would be totally incorrect. It would display total lack of knowledge about the real state of affairs in Sindh and an attempt to glorify plain criminals and dacoits.

Let us now take up the moot question: Is Sindh in danger of becoming another Bangladesh?

The answer to this question is firmly in the negative. Why?

The only similarities between the Sindh and Bangladesh situation are as follows: Like in East Pakistan, in Sindh also there is a group of people demanding establishment of Sindhu Desh and openly calling for and getting Indian collaboration in the form of arms, money, training and literature. Secondly, in Sindh, as in East Pakistan, there is a strong anti-Armed Forces sentiment apparently due to long martial laws which created and heightened a sense of aloofness among the people of Sindh due to their lack of participation in the affairs of the state. But there the similarity ends.

Among the dissimilarities one can list the following:

The population structure of Sindh and Bangladesh are totally different. While in Bangladesh 99 percent were Bengalis and backed Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in the general elections of 1970, in Sindh the population is mixed, and a very large chunk of the people are *Mohajirs*, Punjabis and Pathans who can be expected to oppose strongly any secessionist movement in Sindh. Even among the Sindhis, the Pakistan people's party (PPP), despite its occasional flirting with the extremist elements, is a nationalist party and has always successfully blocked the Jiye Sindh and other extremist elements from getting any voter backing.

Then in Sindh the political structure is also different in the sense that there is a large segment of highly influential families like the Junejos, Jatois, Pir of Pagara and others who have always kept themselves completely aloof from Sindhi nationalism and have repeatedly demonstrated their firm commitment to the integrity of Pakistan. They represent a potent political force in Sindh ready to frustrate enemy designs against Pakistan. There was no such political force in Bangladesh. Thus, despite an abundance of foreign agents and spies, working full force with money and literature, the overwhelming majority of the people of Sindh, both Sindhis and non-Sindhis, have remained firm in their allegiance to their homeland. Therefore, any attempt to overrun Sindh by India or any others hostile power would produce a bitter and thorny harvest. Enemy forces would not receive any welcome in Sindh as they did in Bangladesh and would never be able to repeat the tragic drama of East Pakistan in the name of helping the people of Sindh. More so, since Sindh is not over 1,000 miles away from West Pakistan, any invading power will have to face the full might of Pakistan's Armed Forces. All this does not mean that the government and the people of Pakistan should under-estimate or ignore the problems of Sindh. A special effort has to be made to wipe out the dacoits, to nab and root out saboteurs and terrorists, to restore law and order and peace and harmony in Sindh.

There has been a marked improvement in law and order since the formation of a successful political alliance in

Sindh between Jam Sadiq, the Muhajir Qaumi Movement, Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) and Awami National Party (ANP). As a result, the ethnic violence in Sindh has virtually come to an end. But despite notable reduction in dacoities and kidnappings in cities like Karachi and Hyderabad, the problem remains rampant in the interior of Sindh. The large force of dacoits have yet to be flushed out of their hideouts in marshy jungles on the banks of the Indus in Dadu and Larkana district.

The continued sense of insecurity and lawlessness existing in the province has scared away sizable investment capital out of Sindh. No new factories are being set up, factory owners in such areas as Nooriabad and industrial estates outside major cities are shutting down their businesses for dread of dacoits and kidnappings. If factories keep closing down and new ones fail to come up, the job situation in Sindh is bound to worsen, leading to dangers of further social unrest and turbulence.

Therefore, while the law and order situation should be improved, economic planners of the Sindh and Federal government must pay special attention to the problems of the Sindh province, specially of the rural areas, on matters like poverty, joblessness and other factors leading to a sense of deprivation. Any official effort in this regard should be based on fairness and impartiality and recognition of the rights of the entire population of the province. In the supreme national interest, all political elements should co-operate in solving these problems. Political stability and economic prosperity can come to Sindh only in conditions of peace and harmony.

Sindh: Law, Order Situation Said Worsening

92AS0250F Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 7 Nov 91
p 14

[Article: "Nero Sings While Sindh Burns"; first paragraph is VIEWPOINT introduction]

[Text] The day the President was proclaiming that everything was normal, the Press reported seven robberies in Karachi alone and 35 cases of kidnapping—all in one day.

On October 26, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan proclaimed that the internal situation in the country "is quite satisfactory and the democratic institutions are functioning smoothly."

This statement was given to the Press when the National Assembly was still debating the biggest scandal of all time—and perhaps of all countries of the world—in which the Prime Minister's and the Interior Minister's families were alleged to be involved. The Cooperatives which swindled hundreds of thousands of people of Rs.[rupees]19 billion were under the administrative control of the Punjab Government. This Government was presided over by Mian Nawaz Sharif for eight years and under his supervision and patronage, favoured Cooperatives were made virtually exempt from all laws and political and economic morality and let loose on the

savings of orphans, widows, pensioners and others. The Cooperative funds were liberally used to doctor the 1990 general elections.

It is because of these facts that despite the widespread demand from a cross-section of MNAs [members of National Assembly] and the magnitude of the scandal that the Government is not ready to get the matter investigated by a judicial commission and clear its name.

As the present Assembly and Government are the creation of rigged elections, the creators also refuse to talk of the scandal. Apart from this fact, the second biggest province, which is being run by the unelected son-in-law of the President, continues to burn but the President's vision is blurred although, because of the deteriorating law and order situation, Mian Nawaz Sharif's Government has virtually written it off for purposes of investment.

The Industries Minister, the loquacious Shaikh Rashid, has announced that the investors' conference, scheduled for November 20 in Islamabad, would not have before it any agenda for investment in Sindh. The Government plans to offer 'Special Comfort Zones' to foreign investors. And all of them will be located in the Punjab, NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and Balochistan. Sindh is conspicuous by its absence in the list, as Shaikh Rashid said, due to the breakdown of law and order there. This is a gift of the one-year rule of the Jam-Marwat combine which was inaugurated with great fanfare at the funeral of democracy in August, 1990, with the promise that if law and order was not restored within three months, the Jam would resign.

The day the President was proclaiming that everything was normal, the Press reported seven robberies in Karachi alone and 35 cases of kidnapping—all in one day. Other incidents reported by the Press the next day are:

- Two PPP leaders—its Secretary-General in Thar District and former MPA [member of Provincial Assembly] Jugdish Kumar Mulani and President PPP [Pakistan People's Party], Thar, Faqir Sher Mohammad Mulani—were kidnapped on October 27 by identified people from a house where the leaders were planning Benazir Bhutto's impending tour of Sindh. Later, they were said to have been arrested.
- Armed dacoits attacked a Karachi-bound coach on Hub Road at 4 a.m., killing two passengers, injuring ten others and depriving all of the valuables.
- A BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] official was robbed by two armed men of Rs. 1 million in Karachi's posh locality of Clifton during the peak traffic hour.
- The traders in Hyderabad observed a complete strike on October 28 to protest against armed robberies in the market. Addressing a Press conference, they said that it was the paramount duty of the Government to protect them. They said that four wholesale mundis in the market were robbed and no-one could be arrested.

- Again on October 28, robbers armed with rocket launchers and other sophisticated weapons attacked the Khushal Khan Khattak Express at the Allah Dedani Railway Station near Larkana. The robbers set sleepers ablaze to stop the train. They opened fire on the engine and damaged it and four bogies. The Bolan Mail remained stranded for nine hours for fear of attack by the robbers.
- Armed robbers kidnapped seven persons in Dadu on October 27 from village Malook Kalhoo.

These are only a few of the scores of incidents of robbery, kidnapping and killing which are daily occurrences in Sindh and do not find place in the national Press.

State Terrorism

The most outrageous incident took place in Larkana—again a day after the President had said that everything was normal—when the house of the Deputy Opposition Leader in the Provincial Assembly was set on fire. A large part of the newly-constructed house of Mr. Nisar Ahmed Khurho was completely gutted, family documents and property record destroyed. The attackers, who had come with gasoline, had first asked for Mr. Nisar Khurho and after putting the house on fire, told the servants it was just a warning. Mr. Nisar told newsmen that the arson was part of the victimisation of the Opposition by the Government. He said that earlier, the property of the Jacobabad PPP President, Mr. Aslam Abro, was also burnt; the women of ex-MPA Jugdish Kumar Mulani's family were humiliated. Khurho alleged that he had been threatened with death and the burning of the house might be part of the conspiracy to kill him.

Ms. Bhutto, commenting on State terrorism, said that with the announcement of the local elections the anti-PPP vendetta had acquired fierce intensity.

On October 27, police arrested 30 demonstrating clerks who were protesting against rising prices and for acceptance of their demands. They were baton-charged outside the Sindh Secretariat Building, in which, according to the Clerks Association, many protesters were injured.

Nawaz Sharif's Twelve Months in Office Reviewed

92AS0250B Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 7 Nov 91 pp 10-13

[Article: "Being Careless With Truth"]

[Text] Seldom has the nation lived through a year more full of scandal, violence and divisive politics than Mr. Nawaz Sharif's first twelve months in office which he completed on November 6. To top it all, there was total chaos on the economic front with the Prime Minister's privatisation programme running aground and inflation hitting an all-time high.

Soon after it took over last year, the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] Government was confronted by a nationwide transport strike against the compensatory clauses in the Qisas and Diyet law for the victims of road accidents. These clauses have since been held in abeyance and no-one has been convicted under them.

Then there was the day of the long knives in which two unfortunate families in Krishan Nagar in Lahore and Sheikhpura were butchered with savage abandon.

The most damning blow to the Nawaz Sharif Government was dealt by the crash of the Cooperatives in which a countless number of people lost the savings of a lifetime. This scandal, together with the loans secured by influential families from these Cooperatives and other financial institutions, rocked the Nawaz Sharif boat like nothing else did. Among the main beneficiaries of the loans were the Prime Minister's and Home Minister Shujaat Hussain's families. The total amount involved in the Coops crash is said to be of the order of Rs.[rupees]18 billion and there are indications that depositors may never get most of their savings back.

All of the major Cooperative finance corporations, though, were located in the Punjab, unlike the savings and loans scandal of the United States which was nationwide. However, just when President Bush began feeling the heat, American public opinion was diverted to the Gulf crisis. Mr. Nawaz Sharif cannot invent a little war anywhere to bail himself out.

Coupled with charges of grave financial wrongdoing is the failure or the near-failure of the Government's privatisation programme. The sale of two nationalised banks, the Muslim Commercial [MCB] to a private party and the Allied to its workers, has become scandalous in its own right. It has been alleged time and again that the Prime Minister's brother, Mian Shahbaz Sharif, bought the MCB by proxy while the ABL [Allied Bank Limited] employees are owners in name only.

On Sunday, in its latest assault on the Chaudhrys of Gujrat, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] came out with what it called was documentary evidence of Home Minister Shujaat Hussain's involvement in the Coops scandal, securing loans against Evacuee Trust land and taking a soft (7 percent) loan from the ICP [expansion not given] to repay the NICFC [National Industrial Co-operative Finance Corporation], the biggest Cooperative in the country. PPP leader Farooq Leghari told the Press that in spite of being defaulters in the past, the Chaudhrys were being "allowed to plunder the DFIs [Development Finance Institutions]." He demanded that a presidential reference be moved against the Gujrat families.

There have been clamorous demands from the opposition that both the Prime Minister and the Home Minister should resign and if the National Assembly cannot be dismissed because the President is averse to the idea, the IJI should elect a new leader to replace the Prime Minister. Even the PML [Pakistan Muslim League]

President, Mr. Mohammad Khan Junejo, has demanded firm action in the Coops scandal. Speaking to newsmen after the PML parliamentary party meeting in Islamabad on November 3, he said that "action must be taken against all those whose hands are tainted and everything must be done by the Government itself to clear its name."

Shariat Bill

Coupled with the Coops crisis are the divisions in the IJI itself on the Shariat Bill issue. The religious parties in the alliance are beginning to distance themselves from the Government and the Jamaat-i-Islami in particular is functioning almost as an opposition party. However, the Shariat Bill is not the only thing for this estrangement so far as the Jamaat is concerned. It feels that in order to keep the MQM support, the Government has allowed the Mohajir Qaumi Movement [MQM] to persecute the Jamaat activists in Karachi and Hyderabad where it claims that tens of dozens of its supporters have been killed or maimed while the Federal and Provincial Governments have looked the other way.

Another factor which has brought the IJI and its partners into disrepute, particularly in Sindh, is the brutal manner in which Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali has punished opponents and the manner in which he has been buying support inside the Sindh Assembly and outside it by following a stick-and-a-carrots policy.

Law and order have broken down all over the country but not as completely as in Sindh, where dacoits rule the roost and where murder, arson, loot, rape and kidnapping for ransom have become the order of the day. Recently, there has been a spate of bomb explosions in Karachi and innocent people have lost their lives in shootouts.

The Press itself has been the victim of violence and newspaper offices have been ransacked, attempts made on newsmen's lives and at least one editor's house put to the torch. Recently, when a Karachi magazine did an expose on the goings-on in the CIA, all its copies were lifted forcibly from the newsstands and its staff threatened with dire consequences.

Ethnic clashes in Quetta have vitiated the atmosphere in the whole of the province. The trouble arose out of a dispute over the location of a college of agriculture. The Pashtuns wanted it in one place and the Baloch in another. And as the Jamali Government did not react to the situation with sufficient alacrity, simmering tension flared into open violence in which several lives were lost.

All this while, prices have been going up. No-one invests in an uncertain climate and not a penny has been put in any project in Sindh. If industrial activity has suffered, so has work on the farms. PML President Junejo himself has been constrained to admit that cultivators and small farmers are fleeing their villages. "The situation has gone out of hand. In the interior, farmers are not in a position to harvest their crops and this is going to have a

devastating effect on the farming sector," Mr. Junejo told the Press in Islamabad on Sunday. This indeed is a stunning indictment of the Government of an alliance whose main constituent is Mr. Junejo's own party. Democratic norms, if followed, might have obliged either Mr. Junejo to resign as PML President or Mr. Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister or at least Mr. Shujaat Husain as Home Minister who bears some responsibility for this situation because even though law and order is a provincial matter, certain federal agencies are involved and, therefore, answerable for maintaining peace in the province.

Together with galloping inflation, there has been a record addition to the number of unemployed, especially educated unemployed. This has added to social tensions and caused an increase in the incidence of crime leading to a sure but certain brutalisation of society. Heroin has not hit the headlines of late but trafficking in the drug has certainly not come to an end. The kidnapping of Chinese and Japanese citizens have not made the climate conducive for foreign investment. The Prime Minister himself was obliged to postpone an important visit to Japan because of the deteriorating law and order situation. This did not amuse Tokyo. The remarks made by the Japanese Ambassador at the Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry about the uncertain situation in Pakistan were not liked by Islamabad. Although the Ambassador said later that he had been misquoted, no Japanese entrepreneur would like to invest in a country where fellow-Japanese are being kidnapped.

Employment

Jobs in Pakistan are becoming more and more difficult to find but when the Government bans fresh recruitments, the situation can only become worse. There has been a great deal of confusion about the Government's recruitment policy. When the ban was first imposed, it was promised that new jobs would be offered from the beginning of fiscal 1991-92—which is to say, July 1 this year. July gave way to August to September to October and now we are in the second week of November but the ban is firmly in place. Who was it who once said: "I never tell lies; I am just careless with truth" (?) Louis Armstrong, the American Jazz exponent from yesterday, if one remembers aright.

There may be no jobs for the jobless but legislators have never had it so good. Mian Nawaz Sharif has a 70-strong army of Ministers, Ministers of State and parliamentary secretaries to ensure that if each one of them has the support of at least one MNA [member of National Assembly], he will always have a workable majority.

The Speedy Trial Courts, established under the 12th Amendment to the Constitution, have done little to warrant their justification. Talking of the 12th Amendment, one is reminded here of a remark Mr. Justice Afzal Zullah, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, made while disposing of Khwaja Tariq Rahim's petition seeking leave to appeal against the Lahore High Court's

dismissal of his plea against the sacking of the Benazir Bhutto Government and the dissolution of the assemblies by President Ghulam Ishaq on August 6 last year. During the course of the hearing, the Chief Justice is reported to have remarked that if the 12th Amendment had been approved by Parliament in its original form, it would have meant the suspension of the Constitution.

The Shariat Bill, as passed by Parliament, has pleased neither the clerics nor the liberals. The IJI itself is divided on it and differences may lead to a parting of the ways so far as the religio-political parties in the alliance are concerned.

Local elections were called for November 28 this year a bit precipitately because it is all but certain that they could not be held this year. There is a total breakdown of law and order in Sindh, Balochistan is facing ethnic problems, the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] has expressed its inability to go ahead with the elections, and even in Punjab, the Chief Minister has sought a two-week postponement.

Among the few positive developments may be cited the inter-provincial agreement on the apportionment of the waters of the River Indus, the convening of the Council of Common Interest and the National Finance Commission Award on the redistribution of the Federal divisible pool.

The retirement of the Chief of Army Staff, Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, made undeserved headlines because it happened for the first time since Gen. Tikka Khan left office in 1976.

For N.A. Speaker Gohar Ayub, the defeat at the International Parliamentary Union (IPU) elections was a bit of loss of face. He should not have overestimated his chances. The National Assembly debates were acrimonious and abusive and wholly sub-standard. Neither the Opposition nor the Treasury Benches did their home work with the result that rhetoric and invective more than reason and logic were relied upon by both sides. The Speaker, too, tended to be partisan and this embittered Government-Opposition relations further.

The Opposition

What of the Opposition? As in the case of Ms. Bhutto, so with Mr. Nawaz Sharif. The war of words started from the day he took office and it continues to this day. There has been a PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] White Paper on electoral malpractices and a booklet, 'Plunder of Pakistan' on the savings and loans scandal.

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, adept at clobbering anti-government alliances together, has been at it again, though not with the same amount of success he achieved against President Ayub and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Ms. Bhutto has become increasingly strident in her condemnation of the Nawaz Sharif Government but it is

apparent that she wants the Prime Minister's head, not the dissolution of the assemblies. The Presidential references against her and her husband and other leaders of the PPP have been moving at a snail's pace and that is how they will proceed unless there is a dramatic change within the IJI.

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan made the rather amusing disclosure that he had filed the references against Ms. Bhutto and the others under advice from Caretaker Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi which means that he can't proceed similarly against Mr. Nawaz Sharif unless the latter advises him to do so. Which in turn means that so far as the President is concerned, Mr. Nawaz Sharif has nothing to fear. The only imponderable in the situation, then, is the attitude of the Army General Headquarters.

There has been a move in the Senate, too, that the Constitution be so amended that instead of dissolving the assemblies, the President may be empowered to sack the Government so that the ruling party can elect a new leader of the House.

The year began with scandal and ended with scandal. This time around the person of the Vice-President of the IJI, Maulana Samiul Haq who, it has been alleged, is not averse to female company at night. The Maulana has since denied the charge vehemently but the lady in question insists that in her telephone book, the Maulana's address and phone number have been inscribed by his own pious hands. Allah knoweth best.

In a statemental society, matters substantive tend to get pushed under the carpet. It has been so ever since Pakistan came into being. It was so during Mr. Nawaz Sharif's first year in power and it promises to be worse in the next, whether he remains Prime Minister or not.

Sharif Privatization Moves Termed 'Greedy'

92AS0242A Lahore THE NATION in English 5 Nov 91
p 6

[Article by Ikram Sehgal: "Finances and Power"]

[Text] The Nawaz Sharif Government is determined to create a world record of sorts in effecting the quickest privatisation in history while the determination in the maintenance of their aim is commendable, there is a definite doubt about whether this policy of haste has been well-thought out.

To start the process, the present Federal Government took advantage of the homework done earlier in the denationalisation process by the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] regime with respect to the MCB [Muslim Commercial Bank] and went ahead with that sale within 60 days of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] forming the government while criticism was levied at the seemingly hasty fire sale to a consortium of those believed to be the favourites of the PM [prime minister], there is sufficient reason to believe that among the bids made the offer

accepted was the most responsive. Conceded that the price was low, it was after all the first open tender offer and potential investors were very conservative in their bids, the benefit of doubt should go to the Federal Government.

The subsequent offer for the ABL [Allied Bank Limited] was a much more elaborate affair. Stung by accusations of nepotism and a seemingly callous attitude towards the existing public sector management and labour, the government went to the other extreme and was pleased to accept the offer of the Allied Management Group (AMG), a consortium of existing management and labour belonging to the ABL, very ably put together by Khalid Latif, the senior most executive of the ABL. The dynamism and acumen of Khalid Latif aside, the loyalty of the ABL workers to him personally was a significant reflection of above-par man-management. The ABL sale was a photo-opportunity for the PM to show that his attitude towards the working class was not as heartless as made out by the Opposition. In any event, despite the hoop-la of self-congratulation, this signalled the finest act of the present privatisation process insofar as public sector management and workers combined together to take their future in their own hands, opening a new chapter in entrepreneurship at the basic level, keeping pace with the nuances of social commitments and obligations. From an observer's point of view it opened up a three-way competition between the public sector, the private sector and the newly emerging professional sector. This triangulation further tends to enhance the efficiency and service of the banking sector. We have had an era of privatisation followed by rampant nationalization. Both extremes were not suited to the genius of our people. This third method has the potential of arousing genuine competitiveness that was lacking in the pure form of either sector, public or private.

Such platonic thoughts aside, one must face the reality, which is that the acquisition of power is the end game in real life and finances are a means to that end from time immemorial. In the olden days, any king who could disburse the greater largess had the larger retinue. In turn, the vastness of his host allowed him to invest his neighbours; friend and foe alike, as long as they had treasures that could help this "golden circle" along. Nations still aspire for territory, Saddam Husayn showed the recent equivalent (to the detriment of the Iraqi people) by coveting his neighbour's oil wealth. Within the parameters of the country, the political candidates financial clout invariably dictate his/her success rate at the electoral hustings. Charisma and public emotion do give a lie to this theory from time to time, but those are exceptions to the rule. Real-politik dictates that those interested in acquiring political power must have a financial lode to rely on. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the world's greatest democracy, the United States of America, where a candidate's winning potential is judged from the contribution made to his political campaign, his war chest dictates his success potential. The liquid power of money is specifically available in financial institutions, the misuse thereof has driven many

socialist governments to bankruptcy. With denationalisation process under way, more than the control of industries, it is the financial institutions that will be the source of future political power.

Around 1986, elements within the Junejo Government came to this conclusion. But instead of trying to take over an existing financial institution in the public sector, the force of argument was in favour of opening of new investment banks in the private sector. No one seriously worked on the concept of privatisation/denationalisation of the nationalised banks, on the contrary, steps were taken to strengthen the hold of the Pakistan Banking Council (PBC), political patronage being disbursed through ill-advised loans and credits a fair percentage of which turned up sour. With the advent of the PPP Government and their experience with traditional corruption insofar that it left quite a trail, financial institutions came within the ambit of corruption, being used to spread political patronage, which proliferated with greater frequency. While the rumours of takeover of the MCB by political favourites was never really substantiated, speedy work done on the process of privatisation of the MCB, one of the better if not the largest of the nationalised public sector financial institutions, seemed rather suspicious. In any case, before such an eventuality could become a fact, the Benazir Government had fallen and the new beneficiaries were the favourites of the Nawaz Sharif Government. The suspicion became more tangible when the present incumbents benefited from the machinations of their predecessors.

While Zahid Sarfraz is embarked on a one-man tirade against the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] Government, his fulminations about the ABL takeover being fronted by the AMG for Shahbaz Sharif smacks of fantasy and creates doubts about his credibility on more tangible issues. Zahid Sarfraz aside, the recent announcement that the rest of the banks in the nationalised sector, the Habib Bank Limited (HBL), the National Bank of Pakistan (NBP) as well as the Development Finance Institutions like the IDBP [Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan] and then NDFC [national Development Finance Corporation], came as a profound shock. With the type of financial clout available to those who gain control over these financial institutions, political power will be in their hands for a long time to come, at least until a revolution originating in the streets sweeps the land or a coup detente takes place. As the case of General Manuel Noriega has shown, Panama became a nation inc, with the armed forces bought over lock, stock and barrel, cutting out the possibility of coups to throw out the greedy and the un-Godly. [sentence as published] Within 24 hours of the media announcement, the Federal Government back-tracked on the issue of the NBP, stating that control would remain in the hands of the Federal Government. While the decision to sell the UBL [United Bank Limited] is quite correct, one believes that the Habib Bank, IDBP and the NDFC should be disinvested only partly and like the NBP, kept under state control. Third World

countries with low literary have to have a modicum of public sector-private sector in financial dealings to protect the interests of the ignorant and the gullible. If anything, the success of fake investment companies should be taken as an indicator of the mass innocence.

The Habib Bank is the largest of the nationalised banks and has an excellent coverage for the benefit of the masses. It is highly unlikely that the private banks will give the salaried class or the small entrepreneur any measure of support. Since the IDBP and NDFC are Development Finance Institutions (DFIs), we should have first seen the effectiveness of those who have been given permission for private investment banks to function in competition with the DFIs rather than to give profitable financial institutions into the hands of interests with vested political leanings, which are likely to influence future patronage of a particular favourite clientele, especially those who have contrary political views.

If the issues were confined to political patronage only, it would be bad enough. Unfortunately, such power is usually misused for a closed club of family-friend patronage, a gross form of nepotism that is endemic in South Asia and the Third World. There is a blatant greed syndrome apparent here and it behooves the Nawaz Sharif Government to not only keep its hands clean also, to ensure that after the coop scam it does not get mired in another financial controversy. Even as one writes, this one realises the futility of giving such advice to anyone in the government anytime; greed is usually blind and deaf to any sane counsel. The history of the Nawaz Sharif Government will begin and end with economics. Economics is the present government's strongest prop and yet the weakest link in a loss of conscience in the government in implementing its own decisions honestly.

President Khan Blamed for Persecution of PPP

92AS0243H Lahore *THE NATION* in English
5 Nov 91 p 7

[Article by Anwar H. Syed: "The Unwisdom of Oppressing the PPP"]

[Text] Benazir Bhutto is calling the Prime Minister a friend to thieves and robbers and he, in turn, says the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leaders should be hanged in public. The intensity and violence of their discourse is matched by the kidnappings, murders, and political assassinations that have seized the country. On a smaller scale, all of this was happening ten or even fifteen years ago also. One of the more potent reasons for this violence, now as then, is the government's own use of lawless force to suppress its opponents. Let us look at Sindh for a moment.

Despite Jam Sadiq Ali's exertions, when he was the "caretaker" Chief Minister, the PPP won a plurality in the Provincial Assembly in the October 1990 election. It should have been allowed to put together a coalition and form the government. Instead Jam Sadiq Ali was enabled

to produce a majority with the support of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] and a group of independents. It was a slim majority and, given half a chance, the PPP might disrupt it by engineering a few defections from its ranks. The Jam Sahib adopted the following strategy to preserve his coalition and keep his job.

(1) He persuaded the police to implicate the PPP leaders and workers in bogus criminal cases and, later, compelled numerous PPP Assembly members to switch support to him. Forced to cheat the law to please the Chief Minister, the officers felt free to break it to gratify themselves.

(2) Some of the landlords in Jam Sadiq Ali's camp were said to be patrons of dacoits and kidnappers. Had he attempted to restrain them, they would have abandoned him and brought his government down. Knowing as much, he let them carry on their work unhindered.

(3) The MQM, which formed the bulk of his coalition, regarded violence as a legitimate form of political action. It harbored a large band of armed men whom it set upon the Jama'at-i-Islami and the Islami Jamiat-e Tulaba among others. Jam Sadiq Ali did nothing to discipline the MQM, partly because he too approved of violence as a political weapons, and partly because he could not remain in office without the MQM's support. The Jamat-e-Islami leaders condemned violence when it was visited upon their own people but remained unmoved when it was directed against the PPP. The President and the Prime Minister did not stop Jam Sadiq Ali because they did not wish to interrupt his mission of destroying the PPP in Sindh. If the fabric of civil society disintegrated in the process, they would appear to have accepted it as a lesser evil or as the necessary cost of pursuing a "worthy" goal.

How could the President and the Prime Minister have taken the social consequences of Jam Sadiq Ali's mission so lightly unless they believed that the safeguarding of society was none of their business, or that self-indulgence was the only meaningful object of political office and power? I cannot imagine that this is how they reasoned. It is likely that they were simply being thoughtless, unwise. The Prime Minister says his blood boils when he thinks of the PPP. This kind of speech is wholly unbecoming of the office he holds. He must learn to control his passion and temper. It is proper for him to want to defeat the PPP at the next election but his resolve to kill it is both extravagant and illegitimate.

The PPP leaders, too, are capable of breathing fire. But if their denunciations of the present government are intemperate, that is probably because they are being pushed to the wall. The President's references against Ms Bhutto filed with the design of expelling her from electoral politics, are a very bad idea. I say this not because his accusations are entirely unfounded. But I do ask where in Pakistan, and when, are we to find a president, prime minister, minister, or legislator of whom we may

say that he never committed an impropriety. It is probable that when they retire, and if they are then investigated, the present occupiers of high offices in the state will also be found guilty of wrongdoing. The so-called process of accountability has never been honest. The one the late Ziaul Haq initiated soon after taking power had the single purpose of eliminating Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. None of his top associates came to serious harm. Note also that Benazir Bhutto has already paid for her mistakes, first by enduring dismissal from office and then by suffering a stunning defeat in an election that is generally believed to have been rigged to some degree.

The President's references serve no national purpose. They spread bitterness in our politics and deepen the divisions in our society. They should be withdrawn forthwith, and the persecution of the PPP in Sindh and elsewhere should cease. The departure of Jam Sadiq Ali from Pakistan, ostensibly for medical treatment, opens the way for taking these initiatives without losing face. The President and the Prime Minister should seize this opportunity of ending the barbaric style of rule which Jam Sadiq Ali had been practicing in Sindh.

Ms Bhutto has only a small band of followers in the national Assembly. Her party has a Minister or two in Balochistan but they are hardly making news. The IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] is securely in control of the central government and the governments of the Punjab and NWFP [North-West Frontier Province]. Ms Bhutto has said in the past that she will cooperate with the Prime Minister if his regime stops harassing her and her party. Why should anyone then be scared of Ms Bhutto and the PPP? From the standpoint of her opponents, the worst that can happen is that the PPP members of the Sindh Assembly get together once again, win over a few independents, establish a majority, and claim the right to form the government. This would, of course, be distasteful to the IJI leadership, but would it necessarily hurt the public interest?

There may be some reason to fear that, with the PPP back in power and the MQM out of it, ethnic violence will return to Sindh with full force. This is to assume that the MQM will unleash its ethnic warriors simply because it is out of power, and that the PPP will do the same because it is no longer restrained. This assumption is not valid. The PPP will indeed be under considerable restraint. A skeptical President, an unfriendly central government, unsympathetic governments in the other provinces, a military and a bureaucracy that are uncaring at best, and a strong opposition in the Sindh Assembly will watch every move that a PPP government in Sindh makes. It is reasonable to assume that this government will then be much more cautious and prudent in all respects than the previous PPP government in Sindh was. Nor must we rule out the possibility that the Sindh PPP may once again negotiate a power-sharing arrangement with the MQM in which each side makes only such promises as can be kept.

But this is all conjecture. A PPP government in Sindh will probably not materialize in any near future, and I am not suggesting that the President and the Prime Minister should go out of their way to bring it about. All I am saying is that the persecution of ms Bhutto, her family, and her party should stop.

In this connection it is useful to recall a persistent lesson of our historical experience. Politicians became regional nationalists, separatists, and secessionists when they were subjected to repression and excluded from the field of legitimate politics. They dropped their separatism when they were allowed to re-enter the field. The Awami National Party is a classic case in point. Abdul Wali Khan and company were believed to be separatists for many years. When they were admitted to a share of power in the Provincial Governments of NWFP and Balochistan in May 1972, they became Pakistani nationalists and abandoned their earlier advocacy of "Pakh-tunistan." When the late Mr Bhutto forced them out of power in February 1973, they revolted and waged a prolonged civil war in Balochistan. Now the party is once again in power and, once again, it is a national, not a separatist, party. I submit that continued repression of the Sindh PPP will radicalize it, and that is not in the national interest. Indeed, it would be a tragic development if it came to pass.

Quetta: Federal Government Asked For Royalty Arrears

92AS0250E Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 7 Nov 91
p 12

[Article: "Gas Royalty Demanded"]

[Text] The Balochistan Assembly through a resolution moved by the Jamhoori Watan Party [JWP] last Thursday, demanded of the Federal Government to pay to the province arrears of Sui gas royalty amounting to Rs.[rupees]360 billion which were outstanding for years.

The mover of the resolution, Jamhoori Watan Party's Mir Mohammad Asim Kurd, said that Rs. 360 billion was not so small that it could be written off. He said that the previous Government of Balochistan waged a struggle for the rights of the province and, to some extent, was successful. He said that when the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] was not in power at the centre, it had entered into an agreement with the Balochistan National Alliance, assuring that after coming into power, it would give due rights to Balochistan.

He regretted that after coming into power, the IJI did not honour its promises. He resented the statement made by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in which he had claimed that Mr. Taj Mohammad Jamali, Chief Minister of Balochistan, had written off the outstanding amount of Sui gas royalty. He asked the Chief Minister (who was present in the House) to explain in what capacity he had written off the royalty. He said: "We would never allow anybody to write off the arrears which belong to the masses."

Supporting the motion, BNM's [Balochistan National Movement] Dr. Abdul Malik Baloch called upon the Government to give the people of Balochistan the guaranteed rights which had been by 1973 Constitution. He said that the people of the province had been struggling for their genuine and constitutional rights for years. He said that the rulers always tried to exploit the natural resources of the province.

Mr. Kuchkol Ali of BNM also supported the resolution and said that Balochistan could move a court of law for securing its constitutional rights. He said that in the 1973 Constitution, the rights of all the provinces were recognised. The Balochistan Government, he said should work for securing these rights.

The JWP's Mir Hamayaun Marri said that Balochistan had no other resources except the gas royalty. He said that development work could not be carried out properly in the province without the natural gas royalty. The House adopted the resolution unanimously.

Mr. Magsi later said that the Provincial Cabinet had already decided that in view of the political situation and inclement weather, the local elections should be held in April next year instead of on November 28. He expressed concern that the notification in respect of elections to be held on November 28 had been issued without consulting the provincial Cabinet.

He described the decision as a violation of the Constitution and interference in provincial affairs. He deplored that the Federal Government was bent upon imposing its will on the provinces.

Two identical privilege motions were tabled in the Provincial Assembly by the Jamhoori Watan Party. One was tabled by Abdul Kareem Nausherwani and the other by Muhammad Asif Kurd, Arjun Daas Bugti, Sardar Muhammad Tahir and his companions.

These motions pointed out that the Cabinet at its two sessions had already decided that the local elections would be held in April, 1992, but all of a sudden, an announcement had been made to hold them on November 28.

Supporting the motion, the Provincial Home Minister, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Magsi said. "We endorse what the Opposition and independent members have said on this issue. We are being forced to swallow poison but there is a limit to one's patience. We are losing our patience. In my capacity as Home Minister, I have repeatedly apprised the Government of the fact that the law and order situation in the province does not permit the holding of elections."

Later, the Balochistan Assembly unanimously adopted two bills providing for an increase in the salaries, allowances and privileges of provincial Chief Minister, his Cabinet colleagues, the Speaker and the Deputy Speakers.

Government Urged To Combat Sectarianism

92AS0243B Karachi DAWN in English 29 Oct 91 p 13

[Article by Mahdi Masud: "Character & Our Destiny"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] In a lighter vein Prime Minister Attlee had said, "democracy means a government by discussion but it is only effective if you can stop people talking!" Our media and public forums are replete with analyses, dissections and post-mortems of the national condition. Perhaps no other people talk as much about their country's predicament as the articulate Pakistanis do.

As a foreign observer noted, this may be due to the fact that since the movement for Pakistan itself was based on an ideal, there is a greater tendency to measure the actual performance against the state ideal.

In the context of recently-resumed debate about the appropriate system for running the country, it appears that while our existing system is certainly open to improvement, the fundamental flaw is not the system itself but the collective social character which we have come to imbibe in the past few decades. A few words about the resulting problems and some recommendations.

I confess not to have been inwardly surprised when a European friend in Karachi, replying to a question about impressions, on the eve of his departure from Pakistan, said one word 'intolerance.' As we know, intolerance pervades all fields; ethnic, religious and political. In the religious sphere there is intolerance towards thought outside the pale of our religion, intolerance towards other sects and refusal to accommodate even those in our own sects who have the temerity not to subscribe wholly to our thinking.

It never ceases to amaze one, how people including those with formal education seem to overlook completely the apparent accident of birth; the fact that none of us had any control over the language, domicile or creed or where we were to be born. The possibility that each one of us could have been born and bred in a totally different milieu does not seem to make any difference even to people from whom more intelligence and sensitivity could be expected.

The bedrock of the bulk of the Pakistani people is their belief in the Almighty Allah and His Prophet, peace be upon him. Respect for positive traditions and cultural and religious heritage is a key element of all living civilizations. But should we not combine this respect for our heritage with an understanding of and accommodation towards others born in a different setting. The monopoly of truth can never be divorced from humanitarianism, compassion and understanding.

Sectarianism is the fascism of our country. Traditions are exploited for perpetuating antagonisms and cleavages created in the name of religious solidarity. Einstein

had warned that "whosoever undertakes to set himself up as the judge of truth and knowledge is shipwrecked by the laughter of gods!"

It is sad that the true spirit of Islam is not always conveyed to the people inspite of numerous religious congregations. How many of us are aware of Hazrat Ali's (A.S.) dictum that "in educating your children, remember to educate them for the obligations of their generation, not for the needs of yours." If this progressive approach could be applied to our religious and secular education, it would be the surest antidote to ignorance and intolerance.

Formation of educated, cultured minds are the surest counter to bigotry and fanaticism. Glubb Pasha has pointed out the Lost Centuries, one of his last books on Arab and Islamic history, that rationalism which came to the West as late as the Renaissance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had characterized Islamic thought from its earliest centuries. But then intolerance raised its head and when Oxford and Cambridge were being founded in England, libraries were being burnt in Baghdad. And it was only when the doors of Ijtihad were closed that Islamic pre-eminence in learning, government and society came to an end.

McNamara, when asked recently about any radical changes in aid policies, in case of another term for him at the World Bank, said that he would focus the bulk of aid for developing countries on education. While it is obviously inadvisable to minimize the importance of other essential areas of economic and social development, McNamara's observation correctly highlights the centrality of education in any national endeavour. As Prof Galbraith remarked on a PTV programme last year, "an educated people cannot long remain poor; an uneducated people cannot make economic progress."

In the ethnic sphere, intolerance rests on stereo-typed mental images and prejudices, fixed notions and assumptions. It is fanned by the promotion of fear and insecurity vis-a-vis other linguistic and regional groups, to some extent out of genuine conviction and to a greater extent for securing personal and party ends.

To counter such divisive and parochial tendencies, we must have regular, sophisticated programmes on TV and radio, highlighting the negative effect of ethnic strife on the province, the country and on all communities concerned. These programmes must be organized by people who have an instinctive appreciation of the feelings of others and who have the intellectual and emotional capacity to put themselves in the shoes of other people. Perhaps, no single task needs as sophisticated an intelligence as the task of influencing the thinking and feelings of others. In countering fissiparous propaganda, we must remember that the most potent weapon in the hands of the exploiter is the mind of the exploited.

We must get across to our people the fallacy inherent in sweeping generalizations about whole communities and peoples anywhere in the world. They should be informed

how all peoples inhabiting Pakistan the Sindhis, the Pathans, the Balochs, the Punjabis and the Mohajirs have a cultural history and record of service to the Muslim cause in the sub-continent, which each of them could be proud of.

The intelligentsia must make themselves consciously aware of any inbred prejudices, to redress any distorted sense of perspective in their respective communities. These thoughts may appear idealistic to some. Cynicism bred on crass, undiluted materialism, however, has had a field day for decades and has brought the country to its present pass.

The government should consider setting up an effective Bureau for National Integration for (a) identifying sources of antagonism between different sections of population, (b) proposing outlines for neutralizing divisive disinformation campaigns (c) monitoring new development in this connection from day to day (d) coordinating follow-up action by different organizations on measures agreed upon to promote national harmony.

While such bureaus have been envisaged and even organized earlier, effective action does not seem to have seen the light of day. We should select the personnel for the proposed bureau from our brightest and most dedicated people, who can also be expected to run it on a modest budget.

The urgent necessity of a breakthrough in national economic development and the prospects for Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's imaginative economic reforms are blocked by the law and order situation in Sindh which thwarts foreign and domestic investment and industrial and trade progress. The law and order situation is linked with the political and ethnic resentment arising out of the circumstances of the present Opposition's exist from the government and the strong pressures under which the Opposition finds itself in the courts, the assemblies and outside.

While the call for fresh election is impractical, a political solution is essential for Sindh. Judicial proceedings should not only be irreproachably fair but should be seen to be as such. The system of accountability must cover all groups, whether for the government or for those opposed to it. And government must show the generosity of its strength by easing any undue pressure in the assemblies or outside, so as to facilitate an easing of the present confrontation with the Opposition.

Education must receive and should be seen to have received a much higher priority in our national agenda. The present financial outlay should at least be doubled, even if this means reducing other programmes to an extent. Information on an effective plan for stemming the steep decline in educational standards should be shared with the people who know that education should receive a higher priority. However, an effective start in this regard can only be made with improvement in the atmosphere in our seats of learning, plagued by political

confrontation. This again emphasizes the need for political reconciliation and the countering of divisive tendencies.

A workable democratic system presupposes the ability of the electorate to judge the competence of the candidates for public office. Education is, thus, a vital ingredient in making a success of democracy.

To think that there is no solution to our problems is to be unduly pessimistic. To hold that the solution necessitates the subordination of personal, group and party interests to collective, national interests is to state the obvious. In order effectively to take advantage of the rapidly changing scenario on the global and regional scene, we must put our own house in order. You can fly a flag only as high abroad, as you hold it at home.

National Assembly Proceedings Reviewed

92AS0243C Karachi DAWN in English 30 Oct 91 p 13

[Text] Islamabad, Oct 29: The National Assembly on Tuesday started discussion on the law and order situation in the country on a motion moved by Syed Pervez Ali Shah under rule 220.

Initiating the debate, the mover Pervez Ali Shah discussed the overall law and order situation and said that it was deteriorating every day.

He alleged that political opponents were being subjected to victimization. He said that PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] leaders were being implicated in false cases.

Syed Pervez Ali Shah further alleged that judiciary was being hindered from dispensing justice, which was a denial of the basic rights to the people.

Particularly criticizing the situation in the province of Sindh he said that Asif Ali Zardari, MNA [member of National Assembly] and other PDA leaders were kept in jails in an insulting manner.

The incidents of dacoities, kidnapping and murder were on the increase and the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] workers were being held responsible for these. Though he said PPP had never been involved in such acts.

He claimed that PPP was still a popular party and no efforts have succeeded to eliminate it. The devoted workers of the PPP have undergone rigorous imprisonments and lashed but did not change their loyalties.

He was critical to the policies being pursued by the Sindh government led by Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali.

Syed Pervez Ali Shah demanded that democratic rights be ensured to the people so that they could freely express their views and to solve the problems of the poor and needy.

The Deputy Leader of Opposition, Mohammad Afzal Khan, criticizing the law and order situation, termed it worst. He pointed out various incidents in which firing continued for hours.

In broad daylight people were killed in Frontier province, but none of the criminals could be arrested, he said.

Mr Afzal Khan also pointed out the clash which recently took place in Balochistan. Regarding Sindh, he said that situation was very critical, while state terrorism continued, he alleged. He said that government should realize its responsibility to maintain law and order situation.

Parliamentary Secretary, Rao Qaiser Khan taking part in the discussion said that a specific political group was trying to create the situation. He alleged that the same party was responsible for these conditions, who today pose as target of victimization.

Criminals could not be allowed to continue their foul play. The Sindh Chief Minister, he said has reported that PDA was behind every incident. Killing of political leaders and creation of Dulai camps was the style of the Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's party, he alleged.

Mr Abdul Sattar Bachani (PDA) taking part in the discussion said Sindh was going through worst type of law and order situation. "Our government might have made some mistakes but since the new government took over, situation in the country had been worsened", he observed.

Mr Bachani said that people were facing various problems specially unemployment.

Arbab Ghulam Rahim said the members of the august House should give suggestions to improve the law and order situation in the country. He said both the treasury benches and opposition side should avoid hurling accusations on each other and instead join hand to improve the deteriorating law and order situation.

Ch. Nazir Ahmed Virk said when the law and order situation was bad it harmed the interest of the country. He said the law and order situation could not be improved unless the Islamic laws were implemented. He said the government should initiate meaningful steps to improve the law and order.

Mahmood Khan Achakzai said Pakistan was a country of multinationalities. He stressed the need for ensuring the rights of all the nationalities. He said unfortunately the country right from the beginning was being run what he called on "colonial basis" which caused deprivation in this federating units.

He said the fundamental rights of the provinces should be ensured otherwise the nationalist movements could emerge in the provinces.

Syed Iftikhar Hussain Gilani said dacoities and kidnapping for ransom were on the increase which manifested

the poor law and order situation. He said the government's machinery was being used to settle the scores with the political opponents. He said such actions of a government deprived it of the moral ground to compel the administration for ensuring the law and order situation.

Dilating on the reasons of deteriorating law and order, he said when people did not get justice they start losing faith in Judiciary.

He said the law and order situation could be improved by ensuring supremacy of law and stopping coercion of the political opponents. "Let us put our heads together to check the lawlessness and provide justice to the people", he added.

Ch. Altaf Hussain said the lawlessness had reached such an alarming proportions that the heart of the family throbbed with fear of some untoward incident if its dear ones returned home late. He said the judges were being appointed on political considerations which had eroded the credibility of the judiciary. The political victimization had reached its climax as the sentiments of love had vanished in thin air.

He said the people's confidence in judiciary should be restored and the administration saved from the influence of those public representatives who used it for political purposes.

Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari participating in the discussion said that constitutionally the government was bound to ensure safety of the life and property of the people.

He said that criticism by the opposition can help improve the situation as they were also keen to see social and economic prosperity of the country.

Expressing concern over the law and order situation he said that after the incidents of the kidnapping of Chinese engineers and Japanese tourists, the foreign investors have been discouraged to invest in the country. The Pakistani businessmen were also not willing to set up industry in Sindh because they do not feel their lives secured there.

Criticizing the role of security agencies he accused the government of victimizing the political opponents.

National Assembly Session, Procedures Described
92AS0250G Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 7 Nov 91
p 15

[Article by Hasan Akhtar: "Cool Weather, Hot Words"; first paragraph is VIEWPOINT introduction]

[Text] The opening of the autumn session of the National Assembly, revived afresh rumours of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif facing a revolt within his ruling parliamentary party.

Although Islamabad weather is decidedly getting cool, the political temperature as witnessed inside the National Assembly and outside, on the Constitution Avenue which leads to Parliament House, is still pretty high. Newsmen from as far away as Karachi joined the demonstration on the call of the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists, outside Parliament House, to protest against the assault on the Press freedom, glaringly seen particularly in Karachi and other parts of Sindh.

In the National Assembly on October 30, the members, while participating in a short debate on the issue, extended full support to the newsmen in their professional quest for truth. Information Minister Abdus Sattar Lalcka expressed the Government's resolve to provide protection to newsmen. "Press freedom and tolerance are the prerequisite for democracy," he declared. But he had no word of sympathy for the journalists who only a day earlier were baton-charged at the iron gates of Parliament. The Information Minister looked clearly helpless in dealing with the issue of violence against the Press in Karachi and other parts of Sindh. He said he could take up the matter only with Jam Sadiq Ali, the ailing Sindh Chief Minister, on his return from London where he had gone for medical treatment. Until then, it seems, newsmen will have to continue to suffer at the hands of a repressive provincial Government and its coalition partners.

The opening of the autumn session of the National Assembly, revived afresh reports of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif facing a revolt within his ruling parliamentary party. That the Prime Minister did face an uncomfortable situation in his IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] parliamentary party was confirmed by the manner in which the Muslim League MNAs [members of National Assembly] put him on the mat for the generally deteriorating law and order in the country including the Punjab, and the massive Cooperative scandal in which the Sharif brothers and Interior Minister Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain's family were allegedly involved. The Prime Minister was, however, able to emerge, although bruised, without much damage to himself and his Government. The Muslim League MNAs reportedly reiterated their confidence in his leadership and the non-League MNAs who support the IJI coalition followed suit. But the trouble is said to be not yet over.

Although the National Assembly debated for several days the Cooperatives scandal, the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, both stayed away most of the time. Ms. Bhutto was on a foreign tour when the House was summoned. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had left soon after the House went into session for the Commonwealth conference in Harare, halting in Jiddah both on his way to and back from Zimbabwe. Ms. Bhutto who made a brief appearance in the House, however, kept up her political offensive, mainly in her informal meetings with newsmen in her chambers on a variety of political topics.

In the latest such meeting with the Press, Ms. Bhutto on October 31 revived the reported speculations about the replacement of Mr. Nawaz Sharif, when she said that the Opposition would favour "a change within the present House," if it could lead to an interim government which should set right what she believed to be the wrong policies of the Nawaz Sharif Government.

Among the issues which she said needed to be corrected, were the Government's privatisation policy, the scandals in the Cooperative societies and other financial institutions and the galloping rate of inflation, all of which she claimed, were leading the nation to a major economic disaster. Ms. Bhutto said that her prediction at the time of budget presentation in June last in the National Assembly that the Government would have to introduce a mini budget, by way of further taxation, had come true. She warned that the Government would impose more taxes during the remaining eight months of the current fiscal year.

Article Condemns Electoral Wrongdoing

92AS0250A Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 7 Nov 91
p 9

[Article: "Having Committed the Mother of All Crimes"; first paragraph is VIEWPOINT introduction]

[Text] The mother of all crimes is electoral wrongdoing. And when this crime has been committed, people will stop at nothing.

I was reading a newspaper report on a bestial case of violence against women when I received a letter on the AGHS Legal Aid Cell, Lahore. First, the newspaper report:

It happened in Faisalabad. Bashir Ahmed lives in Mohallah Ahmedabad. He is a poor drummer who earns his keep by moving from street to street, drumming his days away to the merriment of urchins and idle adults who give him small change to keep going. At the end of the day's drumming, he makes enough to feed himself, his wife, a daughter and a son.

One day, police arrived at his door and without taking the trouble to seek permission, broke into the house when Bashir Ahmed was not there and asked his wife, Sughran, the whereabouts of one called Sarwar who had been living in the neighbourhood in a rented house for some time.

When Sughran pleaded ignorance, the policemen asked her and her 15-year-old daughter Rehana and 14-year-old son Rafiq to accompany them to the police station.

However, instead of taking them to the police station, they took the mother and her children to the house of one Haji Ghulam Nabi, situated behind a local cinema. Here, they put the three in different rooms. At night,

both mother and daughter were raped and when they tried to resist, they were beaten up. The boy was also sexually abused.

In the meantime, Sughran's neighbours traced her and protested in front of the house where they had been kept captive. Eventually, the policemen were forced into freeing their luckless victims.

The next morning, Sughran appeared before a magistrate who advised her to go to the police station concerned and have a case registered. The constables who perpetrated the crime are reportedly named Liaquat Ali, Mohammad Safdar and Mohammad Ashraf.

This is certainly not the first case of its kind. Nor will it be the last. Actually, most cases of crimes against women, especially those committed by policemen, go unreported because they take place in the countryside. And now the AGHS Legal Aid Cell letter which Hina Jilani sent me on Sunday. She wrote to say that since gender-based violence had reached alarming proportions, a worldwide 16-day campaign was planned, beginning November 25.

"Gender-based violence includes rape, battery, homicide, sexual harassment, violation of women's health, forced prostitution, State violence and disproportionate impoverishment.

"The types of violence women suffer are many and may vary cross-culturally but they all demonstrate a consistent disregard for the fundamental rights of women to life, liberty and security of person, free from cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. Violence against women must be recognised as violation of a human rights, and not as a gender issue alone. Therefore, we propose that the theme of our activism should be: 'Violence Against Women Violates Human Rights.'" One hopes Hina Jilani will be able to generate the kind of public awareness which is required to stem the rising tide of crime against women.

Today, let's restrict the debate to just one question: it is not only crime against women which is on the rise but there has also been a tremendous increase in all crimes all over the country. Why?

There must be several reasons for this situation. First and foremost among them must be regarded the fear-some rate at which our population is growing. When people don't have anything to eat, nowhere to live and no work to do, they must, of necessity, take to crime. And crime will increase even as our population increases. Who says that crime does not pay? In most cases, it does, official figures about convictions notwithstanding.

Another reason, no less important, is the manner in which we have destroyed discipline in the police and the bureaucracy, especially after 1985 when Mr. Junjo became Prime Minister. Political clout became necessary for securing plum appointments. Things got worse when

the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] acceded to power and Rao Rashid destroyed the Establishment Division and his 'Placement Bureau' became so scandalous that Ms. Bhutto had to order that it be closed down.

The IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] Government, since it took over a year ago, has crossed all limits. When a police officer knows he has the backing of an MPA [member of Provincial Assembly] or, better still, and MNA [member of National Assembly] or a Minister, he will not only not fight crime but abet criminals if so inclined.

When a legislator wants a certain police official appointed to his constituency, he expects him to do his bidding and when a police official does his legislator's bidding, the least he expects in return is that he, too, should be allowed a certain percentage of the fruits of corruption.

Crime can never be controlled under the given dispensation. All appointments must be made by departmental heads and it should be ensured that political influence is not brought to bear upon these heads to give legislators the public servants of their choice. The job of a legislator is to do legislative work and stop interfering in the administration. We have often talked of separating the Executive from the Judiciary. It is time we started a campaign to demand the separation of the Executive from the Legislature.

It should not be the Prime Minister's job or the Chief Minister's job to appoint patwaris (nothing mischievous is intended here). Again, public servants should not be penalised a the complaint of a legislator but through due process. The mother of all crimes is electoral wrongdoing and it is an open secret that the police and the bureaucracy have been misused by successive governments to manipulate election results. And when this crime has been committed, people will stop at nothing.

The IJI has nearly destroyed the bureaucracy and the police. Crime has now become a vocation, like so many others, especially in Sindh. And change must come from the top. As Saadi said hundreds of years ago: if the Sultan eats half an egg, his soldiery puts a thousands roosters to the sword. Here in our case it is not just half an egg but the goose which lays the golden egg which has been skewered and is being roasted alive.

Pre-Election Scene, Canvassing Portrayed

92AS0250H Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 7 Nov 91
pp 16-17

[Article by Adnan Adil: "No Elections, Much Canvassing"; first paragraph is VIEWPOINT introduction]

[Text] Though the Government has decided to hold the local elections on non-party basis, the two main political parties, the Muslim League and the [Pakistan] People's Party [PPP], have fielded their candidates in nearly all wards of the city.

Even though local elections have been postponed in all provinces, canvassing by candidates continues with not a little enthusiasm.

The Balochistan Government has announced the deferment of local elections till April next year. Earlier, they were to be held on November 28. The recent ethnic clashes between the Pakhtoons and the Baloch in Quetta have been given as a plea for the postponement. The Balochistan Government has also argued that in severe winter conditions next month, the arrangement for the elections will not be possible. Similar reports will have in from the other provinces, the Punjab included. The NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] Assembly has passed a resolution calling for postponement and the provincial Cabinet there has ordered a probe into the embezzlement of local body funds.

In Sindh, following the departure of Chief Minister Jam Sadiq for London, Caretaker Chief Minister Tariq Javed has also reportedly asked for a postponement. He has said that the deteriorating law and order situation should be the top priority of the provincial Government.

It may be recalled that not long ago, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was quoted as saying that the local elections in the Punjab would be held on time. But a high-level meeting, attended by the four Chief Ministers, the Federal Interior Minister, the Federal Minister for Local Bodies and Rural Development, and the President of the Muslim League, Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo, was held to consider the issue but it ended inconclusively. Later, in a meeting of Federal Cabinet the provinces were allowed to postpone the elections according to their circumstances. The Punjab Government announced to hold the elections in December this year. But this is not the final announcement.

However, in spite of the uncertainty about the elections, canvassing is picking up. The walls of 130 metropolitan wards of the city are smeared with wall-chalkings and posters. The opposing candidates are busy canvassing through door-to-door contacts and corner meetings.

Though the Government has decided to hold the local elections on a non-party basis, the atmosphere of electioneering is very similar to that seen when general elections are held. In reality, the two main political parties, the Muslim League and the People's Party, have fielded their candidates, on nearly all seats in Lahore. So is the case with the Jamaat-i-Islami, which has at least 90 men in the field.

The Punjab Chief Minister, Mr. Ghulam Hyder Wyne, has been saying that candidates in sympathy with the Muslim League will win the elections and that the Leaguers are contesting the elections not the League! It is an open secret that the President of the Muslim League, Lahore, Mian Shahbaz Sharif, has finalised the list of the PML [Pakistan Muslim League] candidates. For instance, in his own constituency, NA-96, two Leaguers, Saad Rafiq and Munsif Ali, were all the aspirants for the same seat—Ward No. 19. The Muslim League ticket was

issued to Saad Rafiq. When Munsif Ali was contacted by VIEWPOINT, he said that he was not going to contest the elections as he had signed the withdrawal papers on the direction of Mian Shahbaz Sharif. There are numerous other cases where two aspirants in the same ward have been asked by the Muslim League to sign withdrawal papers.

The Pakistan People's Party is also fielding its candidates but not formally. The Leader of the Opposition in the Metropolitan Corporation, Lahore, Mr. Ziaullah Bangash, says: "We are trying to politicise the elections to bring them out of local issues and to fight on the basis of national issues." He says that in the present circumstances, the elections have been politicised. PPP candidates in Lahore were decided jointly by the party's primary units, zonal presidents, MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] and MNAs [members of National Assembly] of the respective areas.

However, there is a board, consisting of Sheikh Rafiq, Rana Shaukat Mahmud, Aslam Gill and Ziaullah Bangash, which has the final say in case of any dispute.

The PPP candidates and leaders, however, are reluctant to commit their fealty to the party. Mirza Muhammad Idrees, the Deputy Opposition Leader in the MCL, says that the PPP has not issued tickets to anyone and that only party workers and supporters have decided to favour some candidates. The reason why candidates are being reticent can be explained in the words of Mirza Idrees. He says that the announcement of non-party local polls and code of ethics to unseat those who violate the law is meant only to be used as a pressure tactic by the Government. He recalls the experience of 1979 when many elected councillors were either pressured to vote for the Mayor selected by the Government or they were unseated on the basis of their affiliation with the PPP. Mirza Idrees says that this code is meant only to control the councillors belonging to the opposition camp. The objective, in his view, is to block the way of a non-PML's Mayor and to reduce the strength of the Opposition in the MCL.

Though the councillors affiliated with the Muslim League have a commanding majority in the MCL [parliament] and the prospects of the PML's candidates in the coming elections are bright, competition in the provincial metropolis will be tough. The PPP has nearly finalised its list of nominees. The PPP workers and supporters realise that they are the underdogs because they are facing a hostile administration.

In Begum Pura, Ward No. 3, at least three activists of the Muslim League are campaigning against each other. Chaudhry Sadiq is the nominee of the PML and has the backing of MNA Umar Hayat. The other is Chaudhry Nawaz Ghumman who has the support of Mian Meraj Din (an influential local leader). Shaukat Kashmiri is also campaigning in the same constituency and has the blessings of the Provincial Minister for Social Welfare, Dr. Anwarul Haq, the son of the late Gen. Ziaul Haq.

Another candidate in the constituency, Sardar Suhail, is known for his links with Sardar Abdul Qayyum, the AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] Prime Minister.

A similar situation prevails in another important ward—Gowalmandi—which lies in national constituency of the Prime Minister and is at present held by Mayor Khawaja Riaz Mahmud. The latter is an old hand and has been active in local politics since the days of the Basic Democracies. But he is now facing Arif Qureshi, another Muslim Leaguer, alongwith Goga Sher of the PPP. The split in the votes of the Muslim League may benefit the PPP candidates.

JI-PML Rift

Another blow to the PML's candidates could be opposition from the Jamaat-i-Islami [JI]. The Jamaat-i-Islami and the Muslim League were partners in the general elections. But in local bodies elections both parties have not yet agreed on common strategy. In nearly 90 wards of the city the Jamaat workers are campaigning against their erstwhile allies and in certain places, they have the tacit support of the PPP voters. There is a feeling in the PPP rank and file that where their party has no strong candidate against the Muslim League, it should support the Jamaat to humiliate the PML. For instance, in the walled city, Shahid Bilal of the Jamaat is fighting against the PML nominee, Saad Rafique. The PPP candidate is Faryad Malik. But most of the PPP supporters and workers are canvassing for the Jamaat candidate as they think that in this ward their own man cannot defeat the Leaguer. Thus, a PPP-Jamaat line-up may upset the PML applecart.

However, the PPP and the Jamaat have not been able to arrive at an overall electoral alliance as was being expected. of course, works of both the parties have been opposed to each other for so many years that they find it difficult to join hands publicly. Says Ziaullah Bangash: "The party workers in general dislike the Jamaat-i-Islami." The other side has similar sentiments.

The main thrust of the electioneering seems to be on local problems. The Muslim League candidates are specially raising local issues and are promising the moon to the voters. Government funds are at their disposal. In Ward 19, Sui gas pipes were laid and connections were given to consumers through Saad Rafique. His office remains crowded all day by people who want gas connections in their areas as soon as possible.

A similar position exists in other wards. Not only Sui gas, road repair by the MCL and the LDA [Lahore Development Authority], provision of street lights and issuance of identity cards are in the hands of the ruling party candidates. A visit to the city wards is instructive. The offices of the PML candidates are collecting applications for issuance of Identity Cards. These application forms are stamped by the zonal president or secretary-general of the PML and then they are passed on to the Registration Office which issues new I.D. Cards through the office-bearers of the Muslim League. For a voter, it is

mandatory to show his or her identity card while casting votes. That many potential voters of the PPP cannot get the cards as the Registration office is only working on the direction of the League's office-bearers. On the street level, it is very difficult for a voter to conceal his affiliation.

The role of the police is also an important factor in local elections. Police influences and voters to support a particular candidate. The PPP leaders are alleging that their workers are being harassed and pressured by the area police. In some wards, the PPP allege, false cases are being instituted against its men.

Kot Khawaja Saeed, Ward No. 30, is a case in point. Here, a candidate, Chaudhry Ejaz Ahmed Jajji, belonging to the PPP was implicated in a case of erasing the wall-chalking of another candidate. PPP sources say that Jajji is being framed because he is a strong candidate. Not only this, police in the entire city are at the disposal of the Muslim League legislators and PML office-bearers. They use police stations to punish opponents and favour their supporters. The biradri system has been an important factor in local politics. Three biradris—the Kashmiris, the Arains and the Gujjars—have their groups in the city. The Arains are the biggest group. They have between 40 and 50 councillors in house of 152. Their areas of concentration are Baghbanpura, Mozang, Ichhra, Dharampura, Sanda, Bilal Ganj, and some streets of the walled-city. Nisbet Road, Gowalmandi and the walled city are dominated by the Kashmiris. The representatives of the Gujjar biradri hold sway in Badami Bagh and Samanabad. Mian Shujaur Rehman and Mian Muhammad Azar, the two former Mayors of Lahore belong to the Arain clan. Khawaja Riaz Mahmud, the Mayor, is a Kashmiri. Mian Ilyas Usman and Chaudhry Sarwar, two councillors, are prominent figures of the Gujjar biradri. Except for Governor Punjab Mian Azhar, all of them are in the race once again.

Major Contests

There are some big-wig contests which are being watched with interest. Mayor Khawaja Riaz Mahmud (PML) is facing Arif Qureshi and Goga Sher (PPP) in Gowalmandi. Mian Meraj Din (Arain) is contesting from Baghbanpura Janoobi. Mian Shujaur Rehman is a candidate in Tezab Ahata, G.T. Road. Malik Asghar (PML) is contesting against Ejaz Tajji (PPP) in Kot Khawaja Saeed. Deputy Mayor Chaudhry Afzal is in the race from Garri Shahu. Deputy Mayor Mian Ishaq is the PML nominee from Dharampura. Senior Deputy Mayor Sheikh Rashid (PML) is runner from the Civil Lines, near the Plaza Cinema. Mian Munir (an influential Arain) is a contestant from Ichhra. A PPP political worker, Agha Nadeem, seems likely to give a tough fight to Malik Riaz and Deputy Mayor Amin Butt (PML) is contesting from Qila Lachhman Singh. Deputy Mayor Mian Majeed (PML) is a candidate from Gulberg III and is being tipped as the next Mayor.

Jatoi Said Publicly Critical of Ruling Party*92AS0250D Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 7 Nov 91
p 11*

[Article: "Jatoi Comes Down Heavily on IJI Government"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Nation People's Party Chairman, Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, has started washing the dirty linen of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government in public, indicating that he has something up his sleeve which can cause some bother to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

The former Caretaker Prime Minister was addressing a small gathering at a new office of his party at McLeod Road last week. Talking to newsmen, he criticised the Government, saying it had failed to protect the life, property and honour of the citizens. He also had meetings with Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and Humayun Akhtar Abdur Rehman. The latter has also reportedly developed differences with the Prime Minister, who had exploited the name of his father to win popular support.

The first President of the IJI, Mr. Jatoi was nominated as the Caretaker Prime Minister when the alliance defeated the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] in the controversial elections in 1990. He was also the Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly in 1988.

Mr. Jatoi, who remained loyal to the alliance even after discovering that his room in Islamabad was being bugged early this year, expressed his dismay over the performance of the Government. He warned the Government either to co-operate with its friends or lose their confidence. Some observers feel that Mr. Jatoi was indulging in "political haggling" with the Prime Minister who has lost credibility due to the Co-operative scandal.

He expressed dissatisfaction over the performance of the Government and said that the conditions under which the PPP Government was dismissed had now been aggravated manifold. Mr. Jatoi said that the IJI Government had failed to give relief to the people and that was the very reason for which "I had opposed the holding of local bodies elections."

He said that as a member of the IJI, he had sincerely advised the postponement of the elections because time was not ripe for it. The IJI had failed to implement its programme of bringing about an Islamic revolution, getting rid of poverty and foreign aid. It had failed to provide jobs to the people, check the price-hike, and improve the law and order situation. Mr. Jatoi said: "We had promised to arrest the plunder of national resources." It has now assumed alarming proportions. The Government has failed to remove the ban on fresh recruitments during the past 12 months. Even as I talk to you, Karachi is being rocked with bomb explosions. What have we earned by showing our inability to protect the life, property and honour of the people?"

Mr. Jatoi was of the view that the Government's indifferent attitude towards the Taj Company issue led way to the Co-operative scandal. Now if the Government wanted to contest the local elections, it would have to repay the hard-earned money of the people by confiscating and auctioning the assets of the Co-operative finance companies. "How can we go to the people to solicit their votes without implementing Islamic law and checking the price-hike and the plunder of public assets?"

Mr. Jatoi gave some reasons for his 'disappointment' with the Government. He said that he had formed the IJI and the COP [Combined Opposition Parties] for 'getting rid' of the PPP. But when the time arrived for the distribution of tickets, both during 1988 and 1990 elections, his party was ignored. "On both the occasions, I had swallowed the 'poisonous pills' in the 'larger interests' of the country," he said.

Mr. Jatoi gave two options to the Government. One, he still wanted the IJI to mend its ways and honour its commitments. Two, if it did not do so, his partymen would be free to extend co-operation to any other party. He even allowed them to explore other avenues during the forthcoming local elections.

Beg's 'Friends' Cause Negative Reactions**Embarrassment to Country***92AS0247A Lahore THE NATION in English 25 Oct 91
p 6*

[Article: "With 'Friends' Like That..."]

[Text] As if there were not enough windbags in this country already, we now have retired Chief of the Army Staff, Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, making well-publicised public appearances and in the process looking less of a soldier and more of an egotistical charlatan. Why doesn't he have pity on this poor nation and go home, play golf and take to fishing? There is nothing that he can contribute, except more confusion and more half-baked ideas.

What may one ask is the basis his claim on national attention? If he did not subvert the constitution and take over the country after Gen. Ziaul Haq's death, he only did what he should have done and what he was sworn to do anyway as an officer and a gentleman. Why does he never tire of reminding us what a great favour he did to Pakistan by letting power find its way to civilian representatives? Since when has it become necessary to reward men who draw their salaries from the public exchequer for performing their duties legally and in the line with prescribed rules? Or is it that the General regrets not having stepped into Gen. Ziaul Haq's shoes?

His conduct in the post from which he has recently retired was always controversial and on more than one occasion he should have been formally taken to task for speaking out of turn and transgressing the rules of

service. He had no business to make blatantly political statements, speak repeatedly on foreign and defence policy and let few opportunities to slip to embarrass or undermine the government of the day.

During the Gulf conflict, he as head of Pakistan's land forces, dissociated himself from the laid-down policy of the government which he was obligated to serve and whose instructions he was required to carry out without demur.

His prediction about the military outcome of the situation was so wide off the mark that any illusions one might have had about his abilities as a commander were set to rest. It is also a fact that the decision to send Pakistani troops to Saudi Arabia was by the large taken by him and not Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's interim government. But even assuming that it was not so, why did he not put in his papers if he felt that it was not in Pakistan's interest to be part of the forces aligned against Saddam Husayn? He caused political and international difficulties for the country and made Pakistan look extremely silly in the eyes of the world. What is worse, he stayed on, suffered public rebuke and was left without much face. It is another matter that so full of himself is he that these things did not seem to matter to him in the least.

And what is this so-called "think-tank" called Friends? The thinking, of which Gen. Beg is capable, we have all seen demonstrated in the last three years. There is no reason to expect him to have grown in wisdom or modesty since. Let him establish a think-tank in silence and produce research first if that is what he really wishes to do. But does he?

The fact is that Gen. Beg is politicking and, therefore, in violation of standing regulations which forbid such activity for a period of two years after retirement. The think-tank camouflage for Gen. Beg's political ambitions is too thin for disguise. One is also more or less sure in what direction his sympathies lie. I shouldn't be in the least surprised if he was to replace the current leader of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] at some point.

It is sad to see that the Friends outfit (what is the source of its funds?) has among its patrons someone like Mr. Mushahid Hussain who, if he wishes to retain his credibility as a journalist, should dissociate himself from this oddball enterprise. As for Brig. A. R. Siddiqi "Liddle Hart," he has been promoting the General and his opaque cause for a long time now. He is obviously beyond redemption. I would, however, advise him as an old friend not to write PR pieces for Friends when he himself serves on its governing board, a minor detail that his big plug for the outfit the other day failed to mention. Those who talk about professional integrity should learn to exhibit some of it on occasion.

Gen. Beg's bizarre conduct in office was perhaps best explained at the time by another General who will remain nameless. Said he, *Ye nahin ke badshah bannein ko iska dil nahin chahta; dar asla iski himmat nahin*

parti. (It is not that he does not wish to be king; it is just that he does not have the courage).

Group Has Militaristic Designs

92AS0247B Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 23 Oct 91 p 10

[Article by Ahmad Bashir: "Friends, Not Masters"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] General Mirza Aslam Beg's forum for research on national defence is a welcome development, but it is hard to believe that it will remain a non-political institution. If national defence is not politics, what is? But it will be a non-governmental and non-profitable organisation for sure. No government will feel easy with a former chief of staff, former air chief, a former general, and army officers coming from sensitive agencies, and intellectuals, who have had the reputation of being in the good books of the khaki, poking their noses in its affairs, or making public information that could embarrass the establishment of getting advice it does not want. It will be non-profitable too, moneywise. But profits may come in other forms another day, when after a couple of years or hard work, Friends is in a position to bid for state power.

The field is already empty, because all slogans, all parties, and all politicians have discredited themselves. But if past history provides guidance, it is difficult to countenance the prospect of generals in politics again. One must therefore be on alert.

Mirza Aslam Beg has a different image. His political stance as army chief has been bold and original. What is more, he retired without mischief, a pleasant experience for the nation. He is believed to be clean, something which cannot be said about army bosses since Ayub Khan. He has in him the makings of a good leader, and he is on a strong wicket. But it is not easy for a man of his bearing to understand grassroots reality of the people of Pakistan, having lived in an ivory tower for so long. He is now trying to come out of his intellectual isolation and trying to familiarise himself with a cross section of public opinion. That will be the beginning of his learning process. He will find some of his pet theories redundant in the exercise, a necessary part of the drill. But there are dangers of which he should be warned.

Politics is anything but a command system. Leaders who tried it, failed, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto being its supreme example. Politics is dissent and consensus. Politics is the understanding of the laws of history. Politics is change. Why have politicians and generals failed? Because they believed in the status quo. Politics is people. They did not try to work for them. They did not believe that they existed except as beasts of burden. The people are the wheels of history, but they did not know. The people are dynamic. They are wise. Will the generals learn from them? Does he know where they live? He has read about them but he has never met them. If he has never met them, how can he work for their well-being?

And what does he mean by National Security? Pakistan must be secured from within the first place. The country must be freed from internal colonialism means colonialism of the system bequeathed to us by the East India Company, with western finance capitalism superimposed. Civil and military dictatorship, feudalism, obscurantism, concentration of wealth and power, cultural backwardness, contempt for knowledge at the level of the state, are some of its expressions.

National security as such is an ambiguous phrase. It has so far meant security of the system by the force of arms. That is how, we, the people look at it. It means more and better weapons, larger defence budgets, thought control, higher taxation, strong centre, captive press, repressive laws, and state terrorism. That is not national security. That is security of the traditional ruling class and its allies in the middle class. That is not people. The people live in kachi abadies, in farms and in factories, which none of the members of the friends think-tank, has seen except as patronising tourists.

The general has spent his life in barracks, far from those maddening crowds. He is trained to take quick decisions whatever their merit. And what about his galaxy? The scientist is a wizard without doubt, and he has much to offer, but he is not a political animal. The former foreign ministers are bright, but they have been part of internal colonialism and it will be very difficult for them to get out of their grooves. One is an intellectual who can curse in seven languages, but I wonder if he has mastered any Pakistani tongue. The other is a career diplomat with some difference, but he remains a bureaucrat. The journalist is a good analyst of current affairs, but he is no visionary. The air chief has been flying high in the sky for so long that it may not be easy for him to come down to earth, belly-landing. The hakim may be able to contribute some money and crates of Rooh Afza, but since he lives in the past there is not much he can offer in terms of planning for the future. The brigadier is a propaganda loudmouth but he is not familiar with a thing called feedback. The politicians in the phantom coach are only looking for a place in the sun.

They are all very special men with very special backgrounds. All of them are Islamabad or Karachi based. Friends, as such seems to be a tribal affair rather than a national affair, but I am sure that the circle will open up to democratic intellectuals from Sindh, Balochistan, NWFP [North-West Frontier Province], and the Punjab, and will include political scientists, economist, labour leaders, poor farmers, national capitalists, small industrialists, middle peasants, human rightists, women's representatives, lawmen, students, teachers, and spokesmen of ethnic nationalities, for a wholesome comprehension of the objective situation. What Friends needs above all is data. On what else will research on problems of national security be based? And what will be the starting point for planning for the well-being of the people?

Data collection in the socio-economic and the historical cultural fields is a highly specialised job. It is even more

tedious in a rigid class society whose leading lights are not ready to face facts. National development has been uneven which has given rise to ethnic and regional contradiction. The privileged do not want to share power with the deprived. Minds are closed. Thinking is sedition. Is Friends ready for the challenge? Is it equipped for it? If a man is known by the company he keeps, then the company that general Mirza Aslam Beg keeps does not inspire confidence. It is bureaucratic in essence. It has fixed ideas. Its concept of the state is viceregal. Politics, according to it, is the art of control over the people. It does not believe in the structural changes. What can we expect from Friends?

But I could be entirely wrong in supposing that Friends was a reconnaissance unit patrolling at the advance lines of power politics. I am ready to believe that it is no more than what its authors have let it be known. That it is only a foundation for research on national defence and security, and has no political ambition.

Another general who took over the state also had no political ambition. He abrogated the constitution, corrupted politics, tore the national and cultural fabric of the nation, and ruled for 11 despicable years, without any political ambition. This, however, does not reflect on General Mirza Aslam Beg's good intentions, though they say that the way to hell is paved with them.

Taking him upon his words, Friends is, then, limited to studies in the promotion of the armed forces concept of national security through military and intelligence means. In that, the people will have no role. They will be at the receiving end. They will be required to submit and compromise, elect their traditional class of butchers, forget all about their human rights, and wait for Allah.

A year before he gracefully retired, General Mirza Aslam Beg had floated the idea of a National Security Council, which the late General Riazullah, boss of the ISPR [Interservice Public Relations], tried to sell through a panel of writers on his approved list. Their words flew like shoulder-fired rockets, but they missed their targets. Even a paidoo could see through the smoke screen. What it aimed at was a permanent constitutional role for the army in the name of national security.

The National Security Council was to be an advisory body, they said, but it had to have a separate secretariat of its own, for advising the prime minister on how to conduct his affairs. An advice coming from the Army, Navy, and the Air Force bosses, would have had the status of an order of the day. Who could ignore it? The idea was a minefield. It flopped because some opinion-makers and analysts outside the ISPR panel hit back and exposed the game. Without public support, it could not have been imposed on the system. It could not be justified. The armed force role was limited to the defence of Pakistan's physical frontiers and the defence of the constitution. The defence department was an institution of the civil government no less and no more, and we had had enough.

If Friends is to be only a think-tank, it has no future. It is not good advice that can influence a government's policies. It is its instinct for survival. General Mirza Aslam Beg is a patriot and he can see as every patriot can see, that Pakistan's internal and external policies need drastic revision. Pakistan has no friends except China, but we cannot survive with China alone. The internal crisis is deepening day by day. We are a client-state of America, Japan, and western Europe. Our foreign aid has been cut off. Our trade has a negative balance. We must think for ourselves, but it needs courage, which the government of Pakistan lacks. The transition can be rough. If Friends advises it to change course, it is bound to come into conflict with the establishment and our masters across the seven seas. It cannot be effective. But if General Mirza Aslam Beg decides to take a long route and depends on the people, he may be able to give Pakistan a new horizon. That is politics, and there is nothing wrong with it.

His spokesman has also talked of 'people's well-being,' but he has not elaborated it. What does it mean in concrete terms? The general cannot come out with a programme right now for obvious reasons, but there is no harm in taking notice of their sufferings and sacrifices provided he has knowledge. We are glad to welcome him in Lahore. But he must move more freely and meet all sections of the Pakistani society. His movement need not alarm the government. He cannot unseat it, he will have freedom, but he should be prepared for hazards.

Later, when the time comes, he will have to champion the cause of the people with a programme. Friends as such is not a very promising development. It gives the impression of being another military-bureaucratic design for control over the state, though the vessel is already empty. The impression must be dispelled. People want friends, not another set of tried-out masters.

Editorial Condemns Attack on Newspaper Office
92AS0242D Karachi DAWN in English 4 Nov 91 p 11

[Text] Hardly have the ruffled feelings and concern over the rash of violent attacks on journalists and newspaper establishments in various parts of the country in recent weeks eased up when another newspaper office has fallen a prey to group violence and hooliganism. On Friday evening rowdy elements belonging to a religious group attacked the Karachi office of the NAWA-I-WAQT in strength, with nearly 150 of them forcing their way into it and indulging in acts of vandalism and terror. As in many such incidents, the attackers chose this high-handed method as a form of chastisement as well as a warning for the paper for its alleged failure to give adequate—which also meant prominent—coverage to the news of the group in question. According to reports, the attackers made their displeasure known by ransacking the office of the newspaper and terrorising its staff and roughing up those who tried to remonstrate with them.

Here is one more instance of the intolerance and extremism that seem to be fast becoming a pervasive malady of our society. Whatever may be the differing affiliations—political, religious, ethnic or any other—of the bearers of these traits, their emotions are primal and their methods unabashedly fascist. They are usually a disoriented lot-distinguished by a ready propensity to resort to violence to impose their will regardless of any consideration for the rights and opinions of others. Where the Press is concerned, if it remains exposed to the kind of coercion, intimidation and violence that have been inflicted upon it many times in the recent past, the loss will not be its own alone. A Press operating under various forms of duress can hardly function as a credible organ of information and opinion whose role is relevant to the working of a democratic system. Any truncation of this role and status can thus only mean an impairment of the basic values and norms which form the bedrock of a society wedded to democracy.

Unfortunately, neither the government nor the political parties have done anything concrete to discourage or put a check on the growing incidence of physical violence and coercion against journalists and newspapers. Not even a mentionable number of those involved in specific incidents of this nature have been arrested and prosecuted so far. This strange attitude of indifference has prompted the CPNE [Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors] to voice strong dissatisfaction and express its firm determination to resist all attempts at browbeating Pressmen and newspapers to act against their policies and judgment. For their part, both the government and the political parties must realise that left untamed, the forces that are posing a serious threat to the Press freedom today may ultimately grow into a monster capable of creating chaos and anarchy in society.

Dismaying Facts of Recent History Reviewed
92AS0251A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
16 Nov 91 p 6

[Article by M. B. Naqvi: "How Not To Be Free"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] A brief look at our history would be in order though the facts are dismaying. In the initial 11 years, Pakistan was known for governmental instability and corrupt, inefficient and power-hungry politicians. Politics was strangely confrontational. Democracy collapsed in April 1953 when a Cabinet-nominated Governor General [GG] dismissed the leader of the Constituent Assembly's majority (PM) [prime minister] who also was leading the ruling Muslim League. How? He used unsuspected 'reserve' or extraordinary powers. The Assembly, supposedly sovereign, meekly accepted the diktat of the bureaucrat-turned-politician because the Army chief was supporting the latter.

Later the GG and his successor, another bureaucrat-turned-politician, changed governments and manipulated Assemblies and Constitutions at will in the next

five years through palace intrigue. In 1958, the Man on Horseback arrived and abolished the sham of democracy. Subsequent 15 years saw three separate military dictatorships, a seven-year spell of bogus democracy, two wars with India and a civil war resulting in a humiliating defeat and dismemberment.

Another five years of nominal democracy followed. But under democracy's beautiful garb—authenticated by the country's only commonly-accepted free election of 1970—the reality was the state of Emergency, gross human rights' violations and an even greater regimentation of the press. A great din was made about unending reforms. But what precise improvements in the common man's lot were achieved is hard to establish. This democracy led itself to disaster by needlessly alienating religiously-oriented sections, a large part of the intelligentsia and, of course, the moneyed classes. It made no effort to defang the vested interests that had sustained dictatorships. Finally, it blundered into unnecessarily rigging a general election.

Predictably, another military strongman took over and held us in thrall for 11 long years; in this dark period, as in the 1960s, tall claims of Islam, Shariat, Pakistan Ideology and Muslim Nationalism resounded in the media and corridors of power. But the grassroot ideas of ethnicity were running riot. This unhappy nation has spent something like 35 years (out of 43) under the rule of free-booters.

Nominally, democracy was restored on 31 Dec 1985. But the military has kept the sword of Damocles hanging over its head: the extraordinary or 'reserve' powers of the President to sack all assemblies and governments. The President—yet another bureaucrat-turned-politician who is not quite a historical accident but is the result of a shabby deal among power brokers—has to date dismissed two prime ministers and is said to be weighing the idea of striking a third time.

Meanwhile, on a cue from somewhere, a number of MNAs [members of National Assembly] and Senators and, of course, Opposition parties are keeping up a racket: dismiss Nawaz Sharif; throw the corrupt lot out. Some say no, no; don't force another general election by dismissing all assemblies; let us further amend the Constitution to enable the President to dismiss a particular cabinet he specially hates without sacking all assemblies and other governments. Some have returned to the hardy perennials of Presidential form of government and constitutional role of the armed forces. Supposing the President does all that and is given the discretion of dropping a smart bomb on the minutely-selected target, what kind of framework will we have perfected?

One's sensibilities are hurt; it is hard to discover affinities with a political class that has wrought all this. And yet it is we, all of us, who are responsible. How have we come to this pass—we who saw ourselves as humanists, democrats and progressives, no whit less capable or modern than those Indians next door? Is there something

particularly anti-democratic in the collective Islamic or Pakistani psyche that is responsible for botching the democratic experiment? Explanations abound.

The first explanation concerns Islam. Muslim Leaguers thoughtlessly shouted Islamic slogans during the Pakistan Movement and these, instead of dissolving into thin air, are coming back to haunt them in Pakistan. The Islamicists' argument is plausible: Pakistan came into being in the name of Islam. Ergo, Pakistan has to be an Islamic state. We know what Islam lays down: It prescribes a unique social life and covers every aspect from the cradle to the grave. This was in fact a twentieth Century notion—first popularised, indeed invented, by Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. It was later amplified by Maulana Abul Aala Maududi in the image of communist ideology. It confronts Muslim statecraft with impossible conundrums.

During Islam's 1300 years all its scholars had lived happily under all manner of Islamic governments that were secular in practice and often in intent. Islam and its scholars suffered no discomfort. Today over 40 states are Islamic. A uniquely Islamic state shall have to accept all Muslims as its citizens and regard the existence of other kingdoms or republics an anti-Islamic aberration to be destroyed. In practice, Islam offers no basis for a modern state because most Muslim societies are thoroughly polycentric and non-Muslims cannot feasibly be discriminated against; even Muslims cannot stomach it.

As Pakistan's experience shows it is a wild goose chase: the more we have tried to implement Islam the more crime-ridden, hypocritical and divided the nation has become. In real life Islam now divides; ask anyone in Jhang and central Punjab. If, as claimed, Islam and nationalism do not mix, we have no basis to sustain the territory-based state of Pakistan. A unique Islamic state, envisaging only Ummah and Muslims, living in strict accord with Shariat—whatever it may be—will have to banish both Pakistan and non-Muslims. The more one thinks, the more suicidal Islamising of Pakistan seems to become.

In short, Pakistan can only survive on the basis Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah laid down on August 11, 1947: as a secular nation-state based on territorial, composite (i.e. secular) nationalism with proper democracy. Fortunately, a majority of Muslim intelligentsia still agrees with Quaid-i-Azam. That offers hope.

Stock-in-trade of conservative politicians everywhere is 'God and Country.' If our Muslim Leaguers and dictators unendingly mouth slogans of Islam and Ideology—Pakistani interpretation of 'God and Country'—we should understand. What else can they talk about? Some other explanation should also be sought.

Pakistan faced from day one the dilemma that required harmonising Islam—its two wings after all presupposed only the Islamic bond between them—with ethnicity. It is now time to break through the miasma of lies spread by dictators: In 1940s and 1950s powerful interests

refused to accept the permanent majority rule of East Bengalis; Bengalis could not steamroll their way by opting for simple one-man-one-vote principle. The great failure compromised the inability to reconcile the demands of one ethnicity—East Bengalis' desire for being a clear majority—with another of the landlords-led "Punjab Group" deputies' refusal to be a permanent minority—both sides' unending talk of Islamic brotherhood and equality notwithstanding.

Ultimately, in the post-1971 period, West Pakistanis are still wrestling with this contradiction between various ethnic demands and the idea and slogans of Islamic solidarity. Nothing is politically more irrelevant than Islam—which is common to all and on which there are different kinds of differences, relevant in other contexts. This contradiction is nowhere near resolution. Thus the strength of regional nationalisms in Sindh, Frontier and Balochistan remains to be reconciled with the free-for-all pursuit of money and power in the Punjab, through still mouthing Islamic nostrums.

Yet another explanation is provided by economic factors. On one hand, there is the rich-poor dichotomy in

the urban-industrial sector and, on the other, our land tenure system (essential feudalism that has remained unchanged since the Sultanate period, if not from the time of Alexander's invasion). Feudals essentially rule and live by owning land, with no principle of constant progress through savings and investment, being oriented to consumption. Feudals exploit others without themselves doing anything. Pakistan, in a significant sense, though not literally, is still ruled by feudals. These feudals are afraid of change and are perpetuating themselves by corruption. For change may destroy them. They cannot permit any reform; they have to continue to emphasise unreal (but emotional) issues. That is where we are.

No real problem is being attended to; empty slogans are constantly being shouted ever more intensively; corruption is growing and everyone is hoping for the best while trying to find out whether he can make a killing. It cannot go on like this for much longer, of course. But those who are outraged do not think of doing anything. How strange? If they do nothing, nothing will change.

Private Foreign Investment Advocated

91AS0242B Karachi DAWN in English (Supplement)
2 Nov 91 p IV

[Article by Dr. M.A. Hussein Mallick: "A New Vehicle of Development"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The science of development economics has gone through many a conceptual thrust. It wasn't long ago that foreign capital was thought to fill-up the domestic resource gap in the emergent nations. It was, therefore, quite natural to seek foreign capital because local savings in many a country was too low to meet the development requirements.

In addition to the shortage of domestic savings, there was the chronic deficiency of foreign exchange to pay for the import of capital goods and the concomitant services. Foreign capital, most of which is of multilateral character—the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank etc.—still continues to account for a large part of total aid inflows. Total net resource flows from the developed to developing countries stood at \$110.4 billion in 1989. Out of this \$22.0 billion represented direct private investment. The latter accounted for 19.9 per cent of total net-disbursement of funds.

While examining the aid data, one is struck by the fact that although official development finance (ODF) has continued to account for a substantial part of total net resource flows (for instance, they stood at 62.5 percent in 1989 as against 33.1 percent in 1981), the share of export decline. They were down from 12.8 percent in 1981 to as low as 1.1 percent in 1989. The short-fall in export credits was only partly offset by direct investment which

rose from \$17.2 billion in 1981 to \$22.0 billion in 1989. Back in 1988, it had risen to \$25.1 billion.

The point that seems of interest here is the fact that foreign private investment is emerging as the most potent resources on the aid front. This appears quite natural because the official development finance had to be pushed in the background on account of the fact that the total debt of the developing countries crossed the US\$ 1.3 trillion mark, and, the debt servicing arising therefrom had become a monstrous burden for many a developing country. One of the reactions to the asymmetric growth in foreign debt has been the realisation on the part of the emergent countries to reduce the share of the public sector enterprises in the economy.

Privatisation

Pakistan's most recent privatisation programme is a clear indicator of this fateful realisation. Like Pakistan, there are quite a large number of other developing countries as well which too have taken up the privatisation programme in their new economic policy package. Side by side with the servicing burden tied to foreign loans, it has also been realised that mere inflows of multilateral funds cannot serve the purpose of development.

Along with capital-inflows, what [is] desperately needed most is the transfer of technology from the industrial to the developing countries. The planners in the Third World have also lately found out that unlike official aid which generally gets stuck up in the public sector ventures and thus leaves little developmental impact on the economy, the inflow of private foreign investment has a more favourable effect on the host country's economy as it finds for itself only those avenues of investment which have a relatively higher rate of return.

Direct and Portfolio Investment 1977-1985
(U.S.\$ million)

	Direct investment	Portfolio investment	Total	Net foreign direct investment 1989
Malaysia	688.2	2,089.7	2,777.9	1,846
Thailand	1,127.5	1,252.2	2,379.7	1,650
Singapore	3,770.8	516.1	4,286.9	—
Taiwan	867.6	-83.5	784.1	—
Total	6,454.1	3,774.5	10,228.6	—

Source: Foreign Direct Investment..., a.a.O., OECD, Paris 1991, p 34 [as published]

World Development Report 1991, pp 248-49.

Data not available. [as published]

In this way, not only are the developing countries saved from the asymmetric growth of debt burden, they are also placed in a better position to obtain the needed technology so desperately needed in those countries. In addition, foreign private investment also forces the host countries' entrepreneurial community to remain alert and keep itself up with the Joneses in the regime of economic competitiveness.

For the inflow of the desired private foreign investment, there is of course the need to develop the concomitant infrastructure and other banking and transport services. Law and order too is an integral part of the needed investment climate in the host country, Pakistan offers good opportunities for the foreign investors in many respects but there are also serious shortcomings, such as deficiency in infrastructure and unsatisfactory law and

order situation, which have failed to attract foreign entrepreneurs.

The OECD in Paris has recently published a study "Foreign Direct Investment [FDI] and Industrialisation in Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan and Thailand, "The study analyses the role of domestic and international forces, differential access to resources and competitive strength, and other economic and political factors in determining the allocation and impact of foreign investment. It also analyses the role of foreign investment in the restructure of the four economies.

FDI Study

The study analyses the role of domestic and international forces, differential access to resources and competitive strength, and other economic and political factors in determining the allocation and impact of foreign investment. It also analyses the role of foreign investment in the late 1980s, particularly from Japan, and in the case of the two near-NIES [Newly Industrialized Economies], also from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. The rise of the Japanese yen has increased these economies' competitiveness in world markets against many Japanese exports.

Most of the new investment has been in export-oriented manufacturing, or in manufacturing to supply export industries. In terms of industry distribution, electronics ranks first, followed in the near-NIEs by other relatively labour-intensive industries such as textiles and apparel, and resource-based industries, and in the NIEs by machinery and chemicals. While countries like Malaysia and Thailand are net receivers of private foreign investment, Taiwan and Singapore are both recipients of foreign investment as well as themselves investors in foreign countries. While most of Singapore's outward investment has thus far been concentrated in Malaysia, Taiwan's investment is more widely distributed, and goes to developed countries as well.

Within South East Asia, besides being second only to Japan as a leading foreign investor in Malaysia and Thailand, Taiwan is the largest foreign investor in the Philippines and a major investor in Indonesia. It has also invested heavily, though indirectly, in China.

New Mode of Investment

Unlike joint ventures which concentrated on import-substituting investments, most of new investments are owned wholly by foreign investors. This new mode of foreign investment is proving far more beneficial for the host countries than the earlier joint ventures. Being often 100 percent foreign-owned, they bring in more foreign capital, and also generate foreign exchange earnings to pay for imported inputs and profit outflows. World-competitive, export-oriented investments contribute to the efficiency of the host economy. Moreover, as they are labour-intensive, they generate positive employment effects.

Side by side with the gains from foreign investment, there are also some minor disadvantages as well. 'Foreign capital may out-compete or "crowd out" local capital in output or input markets, thus inhibiting the rise of a vigorous domestic entrepreneurial class which is essential to the development of indigenous capitalism.

The study confirms that this negative consequence has arguably happened in Singapore, and to some extent also in Malaysia, where local capital is weaker than in Taiwan or Thailand. But this negative impact has often been greatly offset by more positive gains from the inflow of technology and expertise which are usually missing in a developing economy. The host countries' government has also been taking many a step to protect the local investors through local ownership, and local content rules, protection, subsidies, and skills training programme.

As far as development of high technology is concerned, foreign investment in the electronics industry in Taiwan and Singapore has stimulated and spawned many local suppliers, competitors and service firms, including independent indigenous enterprises which are highly successful in world markets and have in some cases become home-grown multinationals themselves, particularly in the computer industry. But this development has not taken root in Malaysia and Thailand, where educational standards and infrastructure are still inadequate to support similar local industry spin-off, and political conditions in Malaysia discourage the rise of an indigenous Chinese engineer-entrepreneur class as has occurred in Taiwan and Singapore.

By contrast, the automobile industry in Taiwan, Thailand and Malaysia is largely locally owned, with foreign investors participating mainly as joint-venture partners and suppliers of technology and occasionally of management as well.

According to the above study, "domestic political stability, economic efficiency and hospitality to foreign investment has made the Asian NIEs internationally competitive and attractive to such investment." The grant of tax holidays though looks quite favourable for foreign investment, many a measure, however, mean little if the proposed enterprises are unlikely to be profitable. Similarly, low wages often cannot compensate for lack of skill, institutional inefficiency and inadequate infrastructure. Government policies that enhance the efficiency and profitability of private enterprise are generally more effective in attracting both foreign and local investment than national endowments or cheaper supply of labour.

Of the four economies, Singapore best epitomises the strategic use of state policy to ensure that foreign investment strengthens the country's industrial capabilities. Singapore has undertaken heavy public investments in infrastructure and education which are complementary with foreign investment and also benefit the domestic economy. Unlike Singapore's liberal attitude to foreign

ownership (1000 percent), South Korea has, however, been very restricted towards foreign investment, protecting its market and acquiring foreign technology through licensing and other indirect means rather than by hosting direct foreign investment.

Yet both economies can be said to have benefited from foreign investment. "South Korean industrialisation thus developed at the expense of local consumers and workers, but to the benefit of local monopoly capital, a situation which since 1987 has become politically as well as economically tolerable."

Singapore Model

By contrast, the Singapore "model" may be more appropriate for less advanced developing countries with limited domestic markets and indigenous entrepreneurial and technological capabilities. In this way, they can use state police to attract of reign investment which will help develop domestic industrial capabilities and exports, without arousing the antagonism of local labour and of foreign trade partners as much as South Korea has done.

In the above two models, the "South Korea" model is the one which often inhibits market forces, and even creates market failure to bring about preferred non-market resource allocation. In the Singapore model the state mediation, on the other hand, spurs market development by enhancing resource endowment and creating the institutional environment necessary for the successful working of market forces. The recent evolution of foreign investment policy in developing countries, including the other three NIEs examined in the study suggests a shift in the direction of the "Singapore" model, with host governments moving from restrictive to more permissive and supportive policies.

Another vital point that emerges from the study is the new definition of the concept of 'comparative advantage' which had a static character and was determined solely by relative national factors. With changes in the scale, technology and organisation of global production, and the increased competitive need to minimise transportation time, information and cultural cost, geographical location has become an important element in comparative advantage and the attraction of foreign investment.

With decreasing trade barriers, investments in neighbouring countries can benefit from each one's different resource endowment; or individual countries' comparative advantage can be enhanced by access to their neighbours' resources or markets. Added to this enlarged spread of the traditional 'comparative advantage,' Michael Porter comes out with another dimension to the concept of comparative advantage in his thought-provoking new book "The Competitive Advantage of Nations." In his own words: "nations succeed in particular industries because their home environment is the most dynamic and the most challenging, and stimulates and prods firms to upgrade and widen their advantages over time."

There is also another feature recently added to private foreign investment. "Foreign investment no longer flows only from developed to developing countries, nor are the former necessarily capital-surplus and the latter capital-deficit economies. The more advanced Asian NIEs have very quickly become important source countries of foreign investment for other developing countries, and even for developed countries.

In particular, Taiwan may soon overtake Japan (which overtook the United States several years ago) as the largest foreign investor in South-East Asia, and has also ventured further afield, to South Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. Singapore and Hong Kong are also major investors in neighbouring countries, and all the NIEs are increasing their investment in developed countries as well."

With the new dynamic changes taking place in the modern modes of production, "foreign investment has helped the NIEs and NIE firms to challenge the hegemony of developed countries in the world economy. Because of the new dimensions emerging in the regime of foreign investment, the whole thrust of this activity has changed. Side by side with growth, employment and balance-of-payments effects that technological and entrepreneurial development, provision of strategic market access, and the creation of international business linkages, expertise and experience may be more important benefits for developing countries, especially where foreign investment is quantitatively too insignificant to have a major impact on growth and other macro variables.

While concluding the study, the authors come to the findings that a fundamental change in international economic relations has started in right earnest. Unlike the traditional hegemonic dominant-dependent pattern, First World—Third world economic interactions characteristics of foreign investment, there has arisen a new 'multipolar' pattern, with economic power being more evenly divided among a larger number of more heterogeneous nations, and the benefits of foreign investment shared more equally. "The Asia-Pacific region is without doubt the area of the world where the rising tide of global capitalism is most vigorous, and poised to challenge the long-held industrial supremacy of the West. But its firms are increasingly cooperating with Western enterprise in joint capitalist endeavours to penetrate and even to dominate, world markets. The changing character of foreign investment in Asia, especially in the NIEs and near NIEs, today may well represent the thin edge of the wedge in the eventual triumph of global capitalism over nationalism, as national economies become increasingly integrated with the world economy, and distinctions between capital from developed and developing countries disappear."

Restructuring of Labor Laws Seen Essential

92AS0242C Karachi DAWN in English (Supplement)
2 Nov 91 p IV

[Article by Mohammad Ilyas: "Restructuring of Labour Laws, Along With Privatisation a Must"]

[Text] With the government going ahead with its privatisation policy full steam, official sources in Islamabad indicated that the working class will have to wait much longer for the new labour policy, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government promised and the present government is dragging its feet on.

Meanwhile, as the Minister for Labour, Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis, Mr. Ijazul Haq told me, that the government has decided to ban bonded labour. The necessary legislation has been in the making for quite some time.

And contractual labour? "Well, another law may take care of that problem too." Whether the Minister said it off the cuff, it is difficult to say. Plausibly, however, he may have got the idea from one of the recommendations made by participants of a Seminar on "Use of Economic Data by Labour Administration for Labour Policy Formulation."

"Labour Policy may be reviewed with a view to regularizing the contract workers and extending them the welfare facilities available under the law," the Seminar participants recommended.

The Delay

The new Labour Policy has been delayed because the industrial sector itself—the major employer of the workers—is in the melting pot, owing to the privatization process now on. The Labour Minister will soon convene a meeting of the Standing Committee which comprises representatives of the Workers, Employers and the Government for consultations on the shape [of] the new Labour Policy. How long these consultations may take is anybody guess.

The transfer of public sector enterprises may be a turning point not only for the industrialism in Pakistan; it may also cast a most upsetting influence on the labour movement too with intractable consequences.

The generous concessions contained in the three option agreement the government has concluded with the Action Committee of the Supreme Council of State Sector Workers signify that the aim was not merely to facilitate removal of all hurdles in the way of rapid privatization. Strident, organized labour unions exist almost wholly in the public sector enterprises. Disintegration of this chunk of the working class, perceived by the state as a danger to the status quo is evidently deemed an additional bonus of the transfer of these enterprises to the private sector.

Therefore, what the government gave to the Action Committee through the agreement corresponded very nearly to the baseline of the demands taken by the labour representatives to the negotiations. For they realised that the workers would not disappear even if all the state enterprises are transferred to their present employees. And what would be the status of employees who do become owners of units? Will they be able to agitate against themselves for resolving any grievances they will still have. They will need to have a professional management to run these units with a modicum of efficiency.

The possibility of there arising a conflict between the requirements of efficient management and the interests of the low-paid employees, harassed by the rising cost of living (plus their own aspirations for more money) cannot be ruled out. What will be the mechanism for resolving such disputes between worker-owners and the management employed by them?

There is also the question of whether workers-owners would continue to hire contractual labour.

The public sector has been the mainstay of organized labour movement. Its dissolution entails a formidable challenge for the viability of such a movement, already mired in un-abashed economism. It is even doubtful if it can continue to exist even in its emasculated form. Thus contractual labour was the recourse not merely of the private sector employer for saving his profits from expenditure on the social security and other benefits afforded by the labour laws. The unions too have looked the other way when it came to regularising the workers hired on contract basis for one day less than three months and then "re-hired." Countless workers have been working in industries all over the country on these inequitable terms for years. Regularizing them might have meant sharing with them the limited funds spent on fringe benefits such as over-time, bonus, etc.

Contractual Labour

But contractual labour is the fad of current times, some economists say. The phenomenon is not confined to Pakistan. Here, it is comparatively more uncontrolled, with the private sector employers using various methods, in order to avoid providing the social security benefits and security of service implicit in the workers' right to collective bargaining. They have split up the same manufacturing unit into numerous separate companies so that no company has 10 or more workers a requirement for existence of a registered union.

Does this mean that the employer can set at nought the centuries of workers' rights for reasonable wages and better working conditions? The question is pertinent because even the World Bank—the spokesman of modern capitalism—has now come to realize that economic development is unfeasible if workers and their women and children are under-fed. However, the human societies learn from experiences but not before paying a very heavy price for not reading the writing on the wall when it should be read.

Western capitalism found itself compelled to become wise only after the Russian revolution of 1917. Thus we see that the International Labour Organization [ILO] was established in 1919 and survives the League of Nations, although both the organizations were instituted together.

- Labour is not a commodity.
- Freedom of expression and association are essential to sustained progress.
- Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere.
- All human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity.

The collapse of Soviet Union, seen by the U.S.A. as the 'victory' of its system, has given new lease of life to the argument for laissez faire. (The World Bank, nevertheless, assiduously avoids using that term. For the impression sought to be given is that it is the free economy conditioned by concerns for the weaker sections of human society which is being held forth as the panacea for indigence of the developing countries.

Fruits of Struggle

That the workers unions were able to extract from the government the agreement to accept the liability in cash to the tune of Rs.[rupees]5 billion for the public sector workers who may be rendered surplus or who opt to leave their jobs as a result of the privatization is a tribute to the brave struggle their forebears waged over the past quarter century. The labour laws, vague and largely useless for the employees, were substantially improved. Separate courts to deal with the labour cases with the National Industrial Relations Commission at the apex were the tangible response by the Yahya government to the mass upsurge that began in November 1968. Workers were the vanguard of that movement against the Ayub regime.

It is also thanks to that organized stridency in which the intellectual professions such as teachers and journalists also took part that Pakistan had to ratify 30 and 7 ILO Conventions and 17 Recommendations. However, the number of Conventions adopted by ILO for setting International Labour Standards is much more; 169.

Among the Conventions ratified by Pakistan, several are of particular importance because they deal with certain basic human rights. These constitute an essential element in all action designed to improve the conditions of workers. These are the Conventions on freedom of association, freedom from forced labour, and freedom from discrimination.

The evolution of the labour movement as a positive force in the economic development was set back during the 11-year rule of General Zia ul Haq. During most of that period, the unions were denied their right to strike. The private sector establishments were practically given total immunity against the applicability of labour laws. These laws, in themselves, failed to provide reasonable protection to the workers. The Labour Department remains stuck in its antiworker attitudes inherited from the colonial era. There was no time limit set for the settlement of disputes. An employer can afford indefinite dormancy of a dispute but a worker cannot.

An employer determined to deny the universally accepted rights to his workers has all the opportunities open to him—laws as well as force, that of his own affluence and of the government—to do so. He can and does use strategies and tactics to circumvent the laws without appearing to violate these. Carrot and stick were emblematic of the British colonial policy in its colonies. The employer, duly backed by the government, has used the carrot to corrupt those showing themselves to be pliable and the stick against those too weak to resist encroachment on their rights.

What is required is a drastic modification of the labour legislation, keeping in view the experience with its operation over the past two decades.

The way has been shown by the recent law in India for dealing with the problem of contractual labour. It makes the labour contractor responsible for providing social security of the workers.

In human affairs, nothing is permanent. If the proponents of free economy think that the wheel of history has turned against egalitarianism and social justice for good, they may be in for a tragedy of inconceivable, magnitude before long. If organised trade unionism of the workers is forced to beat a retreat today, something much different and more insidious may raise its head tomorrow from the sheer vortex of despair and hopelessness among the downtrodden lacking organised channels of expression. The reign of dacoits in Sindh and the wave of lawlessness elsewhere in Pakistan is an ominous writing on the wall. The sooner they read it the better.

Minister Rules Out Defense Cuts

92AS0242I DAWN in English 4 Nov 91 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, 3 November: Minister of State for Economic Affairs Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali, said here on Sunday that the conditionalities of the World Bank [IBRD] and the IMF, specially with regard to reducing defence expenditure, were a matter of great concern for everybody. However, he made it clear that Pakistan would not unilaterally accept any pressure to cut its defence budget unless India, too, was asked to do so.

Speaking at a news conference, Sardar Asif who has recently returned from Bangkok after attending the World Banks' annual meeting, also expressed the fear that today the donors were only suggesting a reduction in military spendings but would soon link the issue with the future assistance programme. He said he had just returned from Kenya and found its President, too, disturbed because of the growing conditionalities of the World Bank and IMF, specially those pertaining to defence.

He regretted that the international lending agencies were exerting pressure to change domestic policies of the Third World countries. "Pakistan cannot unilaterally cut its defence expenditure keeping in view the massive Indian nuclear build-up, which is a great threat to our security," he maintained.

The Minister said at his maiden Press conference that Pakistan's foreign exchange reserves would be "doubled" from the present 500 million dollars to one billion dollars before the end of the current financial year. In this regard he said due to a very good export performance, introduction of exchange reforms and restructuring of the economy Pakistan's foreign exchange reserves were "steadily increasing." He pointed out that India was eight times bigger than Pakistan, but its foreign exchange reserves were only one billion dollars.

Referring to his meeting with the World Bank President in Bangkok, Sardar Asif disclosed that the IBRD had assured him of "substantial" assistance for Pakistan's ambitious Indus Valley water management programme, costing \$8 to 10 billion.

"The chief of the bank has told me that he will be creating a consortium to arrange funds for Pakistan's great irrigation plan," he added.

Responding to a question he said it was untrue that Pakistan was facing difficulties in its debt repayment. "Everything is under control and there is nothing to be worried about it."

Answering a question he said today no country could live without the foreign assistance and that everybody needed support in the fast changing world.

Talking about the self-reliance he said it would not come overnight. "We are taking steps to rely on our own resources," he said, adding that the Prime Minister was particularly against in seeking hard loans.

The Minister did not agree to a reporter that Pakistan will face heavy loss because of the cotton glut in the international market. He was of the view that Pakistan may lose 3 to 4 million dollars if the prices of cotton further go down.

Talking about his visit to Kenya he said he had gone there to attend Pak-Kenya Joint Commission meeting held for the first time though it was set up in 1984. Sardar Asif Ali pointed out that Kenya has agreed to remove trade imbalance which has reached to its favour by around 90 million dollars.

He said Pakistan has offered a revolving credit of 30 million dollars to Kenya and that as a first step 5 million dollars soft term suppliers credit would be provided for purchasing engineering goods. Similarly, he said one Kenyan Bank would provide five million dollars credit to Pakistan.

The State Minister said Kenya has shown keen interest in buying many items from Pakistan for which it has been given 42 items list, which include rice, cotton, surgical goods and engineering goods.

Kenya has also expressed its willingness to set up a cement plant with the help of Pakistan, he added.

He told a reporter that Pakistan's debts currently stood at \$3.8 billion.

Sardar Asif Ali also informed newsmen that he would be visiting central Asian states of Soviet Union from 18 November to discuss expanding trade and economic relations between them and Pakistan.

Progress in Human Development Seen Stilted

92AS0243D Karachi DAWN in English (Supplement)
1 Nov 91 pp 1-2

[Article by Dr. Mehtab S. Karim: "The State of Human Deprivation in Pakistan"]

[Text] Three recently released reports for the year 1991 by the United Nations agencies, namely The State of World Children, The State of the World Population and the Human Development Report, point out the State of Human Deprivation in Pakistan. The last mentioned report compiled by UNDP [UN Development Program] ranks 150 countries on the basis of per capita income, literacy rate of females and health status of the population. Pakistan is assigned 120th ranking, with a human development index of .311 out of the maximum score of 1. In this article Pakistan is seen in a comparative perspective as compared with other developing countries. It is argued, that if Pakistan's burgeoning population growth is not checked soon, by the beginning of the 21st century, its ranking may slide down further and it is likely to join the group of the poorest countries of Africa.

For many policy-makers of Pakistan, living in Islamabad and other residents of posh localities in the country's large cities, Pakistan may appear as a prosperous country about to catch up with Japan and Korea.

However, a cursory look at three recently released reports by the United Nations agencies show us the other side of the picture, which if not dark is at least quite gloomy and an eye-opener for our policy-makers.

The message is very simple. Most countries of Asia are moving ahead of Pakistan and if we keep on moving with the slow pace (in terms of our development indicators), we will soon be in the same group as the least developed countries of Africa.

The three reports which need a thorough examination by our planners and policy-makers are; Human Development Report by UNDP; the State of the World Children by UNICEF and The State of the World Population by UNFPA [UN Fund for Population Activities]. These reports clearly demonstrate the dismal picture of Pakistan's deteriorating situation according to most indicators of development.

This article draws data from these reports, puts Pakistan in a comparative perspective and recommends some important policy measures which need immediate action.

Pakistan's Ranking in the World by Its Population Size

Since we have yet to conduct the 1991 Census, which was due in March this year, our present population figures are only estimates put officially at about 115 million, which would rank Pakistan as the world's ninth most populous country. However, the United Nations reports indicate that Pakistan's population in 1990 had already exceeded 122 million and with 8 million more

people than Bangladesh, it has already displaced the latter as the eighth most populous country in the world.

Many of us may recall, that in 1961, the total population of then united Pakistan was counted as 96 million of which 43 million lived in present day Pakistan, while East Pakistan had about 10 million more people. With the present annual population growth rate of 3.1%, Pakistan is one of the fastest growing countries in the world and is only behind a few African countries in the rate of population growth.

At the present rate of growth, in the next 10 years, Pakistan will add another 40 million people to its total population. Ironically, that addition will be only 2 million less than the total population of (West) Pakistan in 1961. On the other hand, Japan which today has one million more people than in Pakistan, will add only 4 million during the same period, whereas the latter will soon exceed the former's population.

Even with a slight decline in the growth rate to 2.9% per annum, the United Nations projections indicate, that Pakistan's population will exceed 162 million by the year 2000. Thus, Pakistan will enter the twentieth century as the seventh most populous country in the world. By the year 2025, Pakistan's population will not only exceed that of Brazil's but it will get closer to the populations of Indonesia, USA and even a trimmed USSR. In fact, if Nigeria slows down its rate of population growth, by the middle of the next century, we would have the distinction of being the third largest country in the world.

Pakistan's Development Indicators

The UNDP Report provides an impressive array of data on 150 countries and ranks each of them according to a human development index, based on per capita income, literacy level and expectation of life at birth. Not surprisingly, Pakistan appears as 120th on the list and if it continues on the path of multiplying itself rapidly, one wonders if it will be somewhere at the bottom of the list in the near future.

The UNDP Report has classified Pakistan amongst the group of countries which are in the category of "low human development index" giving it a score of .311 out of 1 point. With Japan at the top of the list (score of .993), Pakistan is far behind South Korea, (.884); Malaysia (.802); Thailand (.499).

Perhaps many Pakistanis may feel contented, that India has been ranked below Pakistan with a slightly lower index of .308, which indeed should provide food for thought to the leadership of both the countries. However, with higher investments in health and education sectors and the slowing down of its rate of population growth, India is likely to improve its situation in the near future.

Pakistan's Performance in the Social Sector

If we examine the indicators related to the achievements in the health and education sectors, it appears that whatever gains Pakistan had made in the 1960s, especially in the education sector, very little improvements have been made on them.

For example the adult literacy rate in Pakistan has increased from 21% in 1970 to 31% in 1985, whereas during the same period, Algeria recorded a gain from 25% to 49%, Iran from 29% to 48% and Kenya from 32% to 65%. Pakistani women are not only far behind their men in terms of their literacy rate (43% of adult males as compared to 18% of females are literate) but they are also far behind their sisters in many other countries—Nepal, Bhutan and Oman in Asia and a few countries of Africa.

The future of our women appears even bleaker, when we examine the enrollment ratio of girls in primary school. On this indicator as well, most countries have left us behind. Although primary school enrollment ratio (as percentage of girls in the age group 5-9) in Pakistan has more than doubled from 13% in 1960 to 28% in 1988, the current ratio is lower than all the Asian countries except Afghanistan. Besides, only 49% of the girls in Pakistan who are enrolled in primary school complete grade one, whereas 63% of girls in Afghanistan are reported to do so.

Over the past 30 years, the situation of children has improved some what as may be observed from the decline in the infant mortality rate from 163 per 1000 live births in 1960 to 106 in 1989. Similarly, mortality in children under five years declined from 276 to 162 during the same period. However, these rates are still substantially higher than many countries which are at the same level of development.

Worst still is the situation of women in Pakistan in terms of their health status. Although the overall expectation of life has improved in Pakistan during the past decades and the gap between male and female has been narrowed, Pakistani women still have one of the higher rates of maternal mortality, where out of 100,000 women who become pregnant, about 500 die each year due to the complications of pregnancy and child birth. The comparable rates are 340 for India, 320 for Egypt, 60 for Sri Lanka, 59 for Malaysia and 26 for South Korea.

In fact, maternal mortality rate of Pakistan is only lower than that of Afghanistan, Nepal and Bangladesh in Asia and some of the countries in Africa. In a paper published in 1988 by Population Crisis Committee, 99 countries were ranked on women's well-being which was measured through 20 indicators on health, education, marriage and children, employment and social equality. The Pakistani women's dismal situation is reflected by the low rankings the country received on these indicators. Its rankings were 89th on health, 90th on education, 97th on employment opportunities and 97th on social equality.

Fertility Levels in Pakistan

Besides statistics compiled by the international agencies, surveys conducted by Pakistan's Federal Bureau of Statistics show a high birth rate of 43 per 1000 population and an average of 6.7 children born to a woman approaching the end of her reproductive period. The latter known as the total fertility rate, which if it equals 2 per woman, is also referred as Zero Population Growth indicating that the couple has replaced itself with 2 children, or a woman has replaced herself with one daughter.

However, what appears from the present fertility rate in Pakistan, is that on an average, each Pakistani woman is replacing herself with over three daughters, who in turn will produce over three additional daughters each. Thus, even with the high rate of infant and child mortality in the country, in just two generations, one woman will be replaced by nine women (she will have about three surviving daughters, each of whom in turn will have three surviving daughters). Thus, the momentum of population growth will be as such that it will keep on multiplying in a geometric ratio, doubling itself every 24th year.

Pakistan's Family Planning Programme

Even though Pakistan launched an intensive official family planning programme in 1965 (the second country to do so after India) the performance of the programme has been indeed dismal as may be observed from the comparable crude birth and total fertility rates, which indeed put Pakistan in a very odd situation.

Some of the countries launched their programme much later and in fact, a few even had an anti-family planning posture till the early 1970s, but their performance has been quite impressive during a short period of time. Three countries which are often cited for this achievement are South Korea, China and Indonesia. Even Pakistan's South Asian neighbors are catching up with a substantially higher rate of contraceptive use.

Pakistan's family planning programme which was initiated in 1965 under the direct patronage of President Ayub Khan has passed through several stages, described below:

1. 1965-69: An independent family planning programme was launched with complete official patronage. Traditional birth attendants were used as outreach workers. With focus on mass media campaign, targets and incentives to workers, family planning became the household word in a short period of time. However, General Ayub Khan's downfall here was near suspension of the programme activities.
2. 1969-71: Programme was put on a low profile under the guise of continuous motivation system.
3. 1972-77: The elected government did not provide any political support, however, a contraceptive inundation

scheme was introduced under the assumption that if contraceptives are made available people will use them.

4. 1977-84: With the religious groups in the forefront, first the programme activities were suspended and later made more broad based, however, without any political support.

5. 1985-88: Population problem was recognized, however, no official patronage was given. Reliance was shifted on non-governmental organizations.

6. 1988-90: Officially, the political leadership took no stand on population issues, being very cautious so that religious opposition may not encase on this issue.

7. 1991: Excessive population growth has re-surfaced as a priority issue for the government with wide publicity on the electronic media.

Thus, if we examine the chequered history of Pakistan's family planning programme, we may find that during the past 27 years, it has been effective only for a few years. No wonder, that when one looks at the rate of contraceptive use in Pakistan, one encounters the same rate of about 9% use among married women in their reproductive age group.

Perhaps the rate would have been the same irrespective of any government sponsored programme, since many NGOs which are working in the field have demonstrated success in their areas of operation.

Although the programme has recently been revitalized, and after a long gap it has received some political support, a lot needs to be done before contraceptive use could go up and fertility could start coming down.

Is There Hope?

Only 30 years earlier, Pakistan was not far behind in the level of social development and even its birth rate was about the same as in many countries which have had a major decline in fertility through proper implementation of a well designed social development and family planning programme.

Today, not only is the contraceptive use in these countries much higher but their achievements in the social sector are also quite commendable. One may even see that their human development indices are closely related to their high rate of contraceptive use. Thus our policy-makers must realize the urgency of giving a boost to the social sector by increasing allocations to health and education, at least to a reasonable level as many developing countries have done, even those with a high allocation to defence.

Besides, a fresh approach to the provision of planning service delivery is needed. We must also concentrate on social development programmes aiming at increasing female literacy and reducing infant-child mortality, besides making improvements in the accessibility of women to health care facilities.

These three are inter-related in the sense that with education, a woman overcomes many attitudes and practices which are a hinderance to her using the health and family planning services.

On the other hand, one of the rationales for having too many children is to cope with the high mortality among infants and children. Unless these rates are substantially reduced, the desire for a higher number of children among an average citizen will remain. In most of the surveys conducted in Pakistan during the past two decades, it has been seen that an average of four surviving children, two of whom are indicated to be boys. Thus, with the past experience of high infant and child mortality, they produce three sons (or six children) so that at least two may survive.

Unfortunately, these factors have been generally ignored and more frequently religious opposition is often cited as the reason for the poor performance of the family planning programme in Pakistan. However, many programmes which have been implemented in smaller communities in urban slums and rural areas in Pakistan have demonstrated that now the notion of family planning is not only widely accepted by the people, but if a right approach is adopted, contraceptive use will also go up.

Several surveys conducted in Pakistan indicate, that not only are over 75% of women aware of family planning methods but over one-third are willing to use them. Therefore, a demand for contraceptives already exists which has yet to be met.

Another area which needs attention of the policy-makers has to do with the promotion of non-family planning methods to lower the fertility among women. Two measures which are widely accepted as important factors in fertility reduction are postponement of female age at marriage, especially beyond age 20 (as was adopted by China before launching a family planning programme) and the promotion of breast-feeding practices.

While delaying age of marriage helps in curtailing the reproductive age span of women (which is usually between 15 to 49 years), when the mother breast feeds a child for a longer period, due to the biological reasons, she is less likely to become pregnant.

Unfortunately, with the so called modernization process, young mothers in Pakistan are now more inclined towards bottle feeding the new born which not only puts the children at high health risk but also increase their chances of become pregnant again. Due to the successive child birth, the phrase: too early, too frequent and too many children very rightly fits an average Pakistani women.

If our leadership is willing to see Pakistan enter the twenty-first century with some gain in the quality of life, we must adopt a population policy with an aim to reduce our population growth rate to 2% by the end of this century. Even our South Asian neighbors have made

strides in contraceptive use, whereas Pakistan has yet to achieve any breakthrough in this area.

A real beginning has to be made first with the political will, to be followed by an intensive effort to reach the couple who are already willing to use contraceptives, as has been demonstrated that in order to reduce population pressure, develop the community and improve the health conditions of the residents, 36% of couples are

using contraceptive which is likely to reduce the fertility in the area substantially.

A similar approach can be adopted for the country, on war footings. Let us go back to the population policies adopted in the 1960s, when Pakistan was often cited for its efforts, and re-vitalize the family planning programme. Otherwise, we should be ready to slide downward towards the end of the line, and be prepared to be at the bottom, when the Human Development Report for the year 2000 is being compiled by the UNDP.

Human Development Indicators of Selected Countries

Country	GNP* per capita (US\$)	Life Expectancy at Birth (Years)	Enrollment of Girls age: 5-9 in School (%)	Number of Children (per woman)	Contraceptive Use Rate (%)	% of Government Expenditure Allocated to:		
						Health	Education	Defence
Bangladesh	170	52	64	5.3	31	10	11	10
Nepal	180	52	47	5.8	14	4	11	6
India	340	59	81	4.2	34	2	3	19
Pakistan	350	58	28	6.7	9	1	3	20
Kenya	370	60	93	6.9	27	7	23	9
Sri Lanka	420	71	100	2.5	62	4	8	7
Indonesia	440	62	97	3.3	48	2	10	8
Egypt	660	60	79	4.4	38	6	20	14
Turkey	1,200	65	100	3.6	63	2	13	10
Thailand	1,000	66	100	2.3	74	6	19	19
Iran	3,530	66	89	5.1	23	6	20	14
South Korea	3,600	70	100	1.5	77	2	19	27

* [gross national product]

Shortage of Trained Nurses Regretted

92AS0242E Karachi DAWN in English 2 Nov 91 p 3

[Text] Karachi, 1 November—There is a critical shortage of nursing manpower in Pakistan and on the data available in 1986 there was one registered physician for every 2,133 persons compared to one registered nurse for every 6,302 persons.

Associate Dean School of Nursing Aga Khan University on "The Health Transition in Developing Countries," on the eve of the fifth convocation, said there are a total of 14,249 registered nurses and 42,501 physicians or four physicians for every nurse, in Pakistan; and, a total of only 6-8,000 working registered nurses in the country, based on 1990 figures.

Despite the social welfare orientation of Islam, nursing is seen in Pakistan as a menial occupation and therefore unsuitable as a field of study for the daughters of middle and upper class Muslim families.

She said young women who enter nursing are rarely aware of the possibility of becoming leaders in the profession, let alone in the health field.

"Nursing is not seen as a professional career with a future. Many women are not socially or culturally prepared to assume the roles of decision maker, risk taker or change agent; which are needed by nurse leaders to develop the profession in Pakistan," Dr. Herberg said.

The concept of the nurse as dependent and subject to the authority of male supervisors and colleagues is inseparable from the concept of women as obedient and subject to the authority of fathers, husbands, and elder brothers, she said.

Dr. Herberg said throughout Pakistan, there is marked scarcity of women in leadership positions in any field who can serve as role models, as, according to her, only 4-6 percent of the entire labour force is comprised of women.

Thus a nurse has never served as president of the Pakistan Nursing Council; the current nursing advisor to the Ministry of Health is a physician. Nurses are powerless and they are denied access to the inner circle of planners and policy makers who shape the destiny of health care service in Pakistan. Nor are they able to influence health planning decision making when given a

chance, because of poor preparation to cope with the demands of senior leadership positions. They are ill equipped in knowledge and skills to carry out their roles effectively and at the same time have limited access to dedicational programmes for professional growth, Dr. Herberg said.

Elite Said Exploiters of Common People

92AS0243G Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 30 Oct 91 pp 10-11

[Article by Ahmed Bashir: "A Culture of Vultures"]

[Text] At the Lok Virsa Mela, Sheikh Rashid, minister in charge of culture, made a startling promise. In February next, Michael Jackson and Madonna will be officially invited to add some dolor to the cultural wasteland of Pakistan. To counter the climate of violence there should be some khel tamasha, he argued.

This was what Lok Virsa had been fighting against. They are not opposed to other cultures. Nor do they object to their interaction. Their primary purpose has been to resist foreign invasion. And how do they do it? By highlighting the living culture of Pakistan as it exists today. It is the heritage of history and has been preserved by artisans, craftsmen, folk singers, and folk dancers of various regions, who despite their diversity, have internal unity.

The minister, a Jama'at-i-Islami ideologue until he was sworn in now wants khel tamasha of rock singers and dancers of America. That is how he wants to reduce social tensions in Pakistan. The visit of Jackson and Madonna and their performance will cost the nation quite a few million dollars but what is a few million dollars between friends, if they can change our climate? Guitars not ektaras, is what we now need for social harmony, the Islamicists are begging for foreign aid even in the realm of culture.

The Jama'at-i-Islami and some other Islamic politicians have taken objection to the innocence of their protege on religious grounds, which he dismissed with contempt. Will the bureaucrats and their families be entertained to the American khel tamasha, come February or not? They are keeping their fingers crossed. Some of them did visit the Lok Virsa Mela, albeit as tourists. But Jackson and Madonna will involve them truly. Their lives are barren without American rock singing and dancing.

Ours is a culture of hypocrisy based on self-negation. Naheed Siddiqui had to leave her country because she was a kathak dancer and danced with her body fully draped. Madonna has much to show. Faqir Hussain Saga could perform at the wedding of the son of President Zia to entertain his family and guests, but for TV he is out of bounds, because he is a classical dancer in the Mughal tradition. Were the maulvis unaware of Zia's double standards? Or were the Mughals non-Muslim? Benazir Bhutto with chadar, tasbeeh and all, cannot be tolerated because she is a woman but Maulana Abdul Qadir Azad,

Imam of Badshahi Mosque, had no objection to the bare legs of Lady Diana when she visited his preserve. Maulvis are not known to be in the habit of lowering their eyes, and maybe he never noticed the fahashi of the princess, but some were not so modest, and they began to roar and damn, the soul of Maulana Abdul Qadir Azad for being blind to the sight of the lady's legs. It is quite another thing that their religious fervor died down, later, under Foreign Office pressure, and now all is quiet.

When the same Maulana Abdul Qadir Azad applied for the reduction of his age by nine years by changing his certificate of birth, the maulvis said nothing. It was a trade union principle, and not a moral question. They nevertheless hate him for the perks and privileges that go with a grade-20 maulvi.

When Zulfikar Ali Bhutto confessed at a public meeting that he took a little wine to overcome his fatigue, he was consigned to hell, but when Jam Sadiq ali made a public declaration of his drinking, the Jama'at said that it was a matter between him and his Allah. That is a correct philosophy, but it is a rather selective philosophy. It has been reported that General Yahya Khan once had audience with Maulana Tufail Mohammad with drinks on the table, but the maulana not only took no exception to it, he also certified him as Mujahid-i-Azam.

The maulvis know that most MNAs [Members of National Assembly] and MPAs [Members of Provincial Assembly] have the reputation of being regular boozers and some are known womanizers but because they needed their support to stay in the business of Islamism, they had no quarrel with their sins. Interests is haram, but maulvis have never refused to collect this mal-i-haram on their bank deposits. Women are their worst problem. They do not look at them as mothers, sisters, wives, and workers, but as invitation to sensuous pleasures. Mujra is acceptable, but acting on the state is fahashi. They lose their cool whenever they see anything female moving. They resent all performing arts. They hate cultural expression of any kind. They want to place a bid on the human soul in the name of Islamic puritanism. They have been in power since Ziaul Haq usurped state power. They have been in charge of education and propaganda ever since, and every few years, they have converted and reconverted the Muslims of Pakistan to Islam. But what is the reality on the ground? With total suppression of the people's right to pursue happiness and peace, our value system has been totally distorted.

Pakistan's social problems are basically cultural problems, and culture has become the nest of vultures. Hypocrites rule the roost. Thugs demand honesty and justice. Wolves guard the flock. Dogs bark, and hyenas laugh. The law of the jungle prevails in this Islamic state of Pakistan.

Broadly speaking, Pakistan has three cultural patterns. On top is the culture of the rulers. Higher echelons of the

civil and military bureaucrats, bankers and industrialists, rich smugglers, big and idle landlords, and wealthy politicians believe in culture of violence and sensuality. They drink and dance together and idealize Michael Jackson and Madonna for the wild beat of their music, the spin of their hips, and their amorous cries. In reality they are pathological exhibitionists.

Some of them consider it socially rewarding to listen to the better known qawwals and classical singers too but it is not their culture. Their culture lies in their cassettes. They send their children to exclusive English-medium schools to acquire modern knowledge, but also to alienate them from themselves, their history and their culture. They learn to hate their land. They want to go west. At a recent American school graduation ceremony, the son of a banker invited all his classmates to meet him in Hawaii, in the year 2000, all expenses paid. Gilgit, Naukundi, Tharparkar, Khyber, and Tilla Jogian are for more exotic, but the hula-hula culture of Hawaii has greater attraction for the children of the rich. Chang, ribab and duff and ektara cannot match the glamour of the electric guitar and of the atmosphere the half-lit taverns the west can provide.

I am not against western music as such. But they do not go for western music. They go for the excitement it offers. They go for its violence. If they live in Pakistan, they live as foreigners. They live in Pakistan because it is their hunting ground. The Islamic rhetoric does not affect them in any way. They are not hypocrites. Their choices are open. They want easy money with no questions asked. They want power with responsibility. That is their culture. But they are lonely and frustrated as a rule. They have no commitment, no idealism. Each is to himself, and devil may take the hindmost.

The middle class has its own culture drives. Middle level bureaucrats, professionals, maulvis, traders, and establishment intellectuals belong to this class. It is not a stable social division. Its members want to move up, and to realize their dreams, identify themselves with the dominant class, intellectually, emotionally, and culturally. But they are pulled in various directions. Some of them keep sliding down. All of them are always afraid. Therefore, they support the status quo so that they can keep what they have. They are swayed by the Islamic rhetoric more easily because it, gives them some consolation. They have faith in rituals rather than in the philosophy. They are the backbone of the system because they are opinion-makers and cannot avoid the people at large. But they do not identify themselves with them. They go with the winning side in a clash of values. They are highly individualistic. They have no firm loyalties. They are condemned to a life of hypocrisy. They are the managers of oppression but are impotent themselves. Their cultural values are ridden with contradictions. On one end of the spectrum is tradition. Whatever its worth. On the other end is their dream to get away from it. They will denounce the Michael Jackson and madonna culture but they will not mind a sly peep at their show. They have unhappy homes because their means cannot sustain

their dreams. If they can make a fast buck by corrupt means, they will be glad to do it, since money means power and social position. Their drives are highly pretentious. Culturally, they are the most oppressed.

The working class is economically the weakest section of the society, but the richest culturally. It firmly believes in its historical heritage and has preserved it under all circumstances and through the ages. All fine arts are the product of folk arts, bit it music, poetry, drama, fiction, painting or dancing. Their relationship with nature is close. That has been their raw material as well as their inspiration. It is their potter's wheel. They create marvels with their bare hands, and they preserve what they create. They work together. They share and contribute, Harappa, Moenjodaro, Taxila may be mounds of the dead, but they will always live in their souls. They are the custodians of history. They keep the conscience of the nation.

The ruling class of Pakistan thinks that their culture is a museum piece, and at Shakarparian, they have a show case for it. They do not want to learn from it or take pride in it. When the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government staged the music 1989 show, Sheikh Rashid and his band of Islamic politicians issued fatwas of kufr and accused it of conspiring against the ideology of Pakistan. The hypocrite is now yearning for the violence and sensuality of western pop music.

Hypocrisy is the essence of the culture of the ruling class and violence and sensuality its expression. With ban on liquor, its consumption has increased for those who can afford it, and the rich and powerful are never short of money. In an ever-increasing social tension, the poor too need escape, but opium, charas, bhang have been also banned. The vacuum has been filled by heroin, a far more deadly narcotic. The business is patronized by members of the ruling class, because there is a big money in the trade. Interpol [International Criminal Police Organization] sent lists of major heroin smugglers, but because they are pillars of the system, only an occasional truck driver or a poor distributor is nabbed. The big shots stay safe. The Islamicists know it, but since their election victories are financed by narcotic dealers, they never make an issue of it.

Since the enactment of the Hudood Ordinance, gangrape of helpless women has become an every day practice. In the month of August, 41 women were burnt alive in Lahore alone, but the police and the mullahs took no notice of it. No FIR [First Information Report] was registered. No Friday sermon protested against it.

Bomb blasts, mass killings, day-light robberies, bank holdups, kidnapping for ransom and death by torture are the new trend. It all started with Zia. Islam to him meant harsh punishment for his political adversaries and for the poor and the weak. No harm came to the cruel and the corrupt during his dark days. A compulsive killer on a prayer mat, he built enormous fortunes, violence was his religion, hypocrisy his creed and degradation of man

his faith. He left behind a society which is given to self-destruction. Islam was converted into a dark continent by him.

Is there any hope? Not unless the process is reversed and draconian laws enacted in the name of Islam are replaced, since they militate against its spirit. People are given back their dignity. Thought control is relaxed. State power is decentralized. Social justice becomes the guiding principle of ideologies and development plans. But that will not be enough.

What we need above all is a new cultural movement, a movement which springs from the soil movement which has historic continuity. Our people are good Muslims. The Shariah laws have only distorted their beliefs. There should be more light, more laughter, and more music. Jackson and Madonna are welcome, but first Naheed Siddiqui should have the right to live in her land and dance and sing for her people. Her rhythm and beat are purifying. Her form and figure are always covered.

Alas! All this is a pipe-dream. Liberation of the people and democracy does not suit the culture vultures of Pakistan. Nothing is possible without structural changes in the socio-economic layout of the country, and those who are at the helm of affairs will sell their souls to the devil to preserve their kingdom. The playful Sheikh Rashid and the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] hypocrites may not last until February, but the people live forever. The system has decayed. It must perish. That is the law.

Twenty-Four Hour TV Station Begins Broadcasting

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[Excerpt] At 6:30 p.m. on 1 November 1990 all eyes were glued to the television sets. A small private organization called NTM [expansion not given] was stepping in to challenge the monopoly of the established giant PTV.

The battle for the hearts and imagination of the viewers was about to begin in full swing. With limited resources, NTM was entering an arena where the incumbent PTV had an excellent track record specially where the developing world was concerned.

There was great jubilation in the air. The Pakistani viewer was finally getting a choice. Thanks to competition, he was now in a position where he could express his dissatisfaction with one channel, not simply by switching off but by switching over.

There was excitement in every quarter. The entry of the second channel would not only herald a change in the lives of the viewers, it would significantly alter the entire national outlook on the most powerful medium. Television no longer meant PTV alone and the medium would finally be judged as a medium, not a particular institution.

What mattered most, however, to everyone at NTM was the high expectations the viewers had attached to this new star. To them, it symbolized the new wave. After a long wait, they were expecting a breath of fresh air in their evening entertainment. Programmers at NTM were actually aware that the audience not only desired an innovative approach, they demanded it.

And they were not disappointed at 6:32 p.m., when they were greeted by the highly creative rendering of Suraje-Rehman, they were assured that they will no longer be subjected to the tedious monotony of yesteryears. As programs for the evening unfolded, the people of Karachi had already given their verdict. The gutsy challenger had made a special place in their hearts.

With a small infra-structure and meager resources, NTM undertook the challenge of operating a 24-hour channel. PTN thus became the first TV channel in South Asia to transmit round the clock. This was a major breakthrough and very well received by the viewers for whom television was a valued companion in an entertainment starved environment.

The signing up with the global news network CNN ushered in a new era of information access to the Karachites. Events occurring in the corners of the world were now flashing live in Karachi homes. Global issues were being highlighted and presented in their international perspective. Pakistan became one of the few countries in the world where a pay channel was available to the viewers free of charge. Information was no longer restricted to the privileged few who could afford to pay the exorbitant cost of a satellite dish.

On the information front, NTM also programmed a series of documentaries on relevant subjects. NTM sought and received full cooperation from international information services notably U.S.A., U.K., Japan and Iran. These documentaries thus cover subjects from the four corners of the world and helps the NTM programming package achieve a healthy balance between information and entertainment.

In its endeavor to fully maximize the dynamism of satellite communication, NTM has also pioneered the concept of WORLDNET programmes. With the cooperation of U.S.I.S. [U.S. Information Service], this program features live dialogue between eminent U.S. and Pakistani personalities on issues of national interest. These programmes have so far covered interesting subjects like Islam in the West, Islamic architecture, the role of CNN etc.

As part of its 24 hours package, NTM also lays stress on education.

A regular one-hour slot has been dedicated daily to the Allama Iqbal Open Air University. Instructional and educational programmes have also been procured from international agencies and dubbed in Urdu to provide

viewers with interesting, high quality educational programs. NTM stands committed today to give free time to such programs that are meant to impart education.

The real test of a TV channel comes while judging viewership levels during prime time. The NTM prime time (7 p.m. till midnight) has consistently scored higher in viewership survey. The reason is again simple innovation.

NTM introduced the concept of segmentation. Every evening, there is a designated slot for children, followed by one for family viewing. Late night feature films have been scheduled, on a daily basis to cater to the entertainment needs of the general audience.

The NTM children hour is by far the most popular in its segment. The most avid supporters of NTM today are children. It is because, as in every other segment, NTM has spent endless hours trying to know what the children want. Exciting, contemporary programmes have been scheduled which capture the imagination of the young ones. Popular cartoons and educative programs are

blended with informative, educational programs to provide a balanced package. Children hour at NTM is undoubtedly a huge success, a slot which children look forward to every evening.

Another big hit with the audience has been the Comedy Hour. It was felt that after a long day's work, the family is entitled to an interval of laughter. The emphasis here is on presenting family programs featuring not only the most recent situation comedies but also bringing in golden evergreen hits like Life with Lucy and Get Smart.

While Drama hour will eventually feature local productions, NTM initially began with popular American and British serials. Programs like the Highwayman, Manimal and Automan dispelled the myth that there is no audience for English language programs. It proved beyond doubt that the first concern of the viewer is quality of the program—language being a secondary condition.

No one however doubts that a high quality Urdu program fetches larger audiences and greater appreciation. Prime Time Shows produced by NTM in Urdu language have received tremendous applause and unprecedented viewership. [passage omitted]

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